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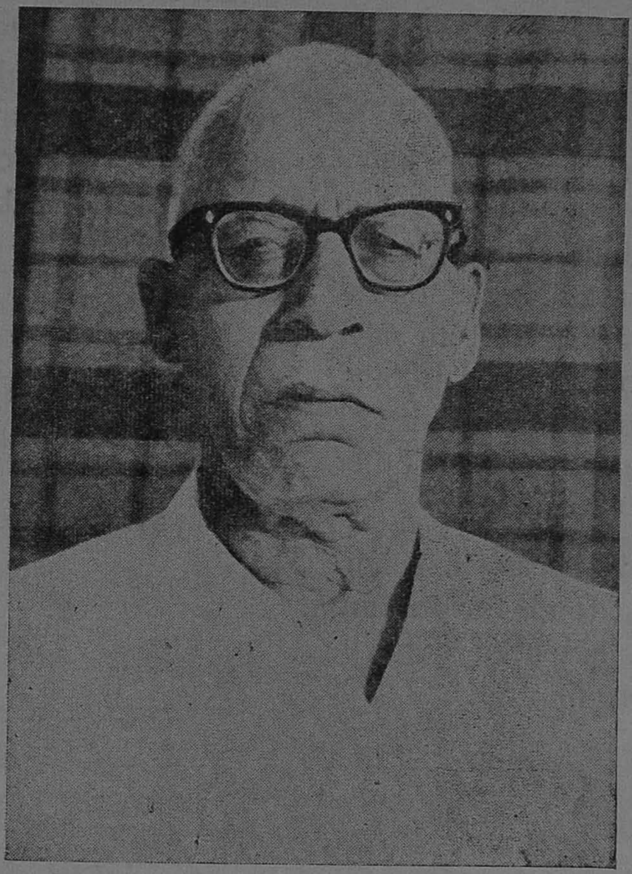


(1894-1977)

Courtesy: VEDAM VENKATARAYA SASTRI

EDITORIAL

We are happy to place the Fourth volume of the Society's Journal in the hands of scholars who have expressed in ample measure their appreciation of the earlier three volumes. The first three volumes were published on behalf of the Society by M/S Geetha Book House, Mysore whose Proprietor Sri M. Satyanarayana Rao has always been the backbone of such academic ventures.

Quite a number of scholars had, however, expressed their desire that the size and format of the Society's Journal need to be changed. Keeping this in mind, the office-bearers' meeting held at Mysore on 14th July, 1977 resolved that the Society itself should henceforth publish its Journal. The utmost inspiration for this has come from none other than Dr. G. S. Gai, our Chairman.

The Society has incurred heavy expenditure from out of its regular funds for printing the present volume. This has been done in the hope that very soon the Society will receive financial aid from organisations as the ... Council of Historical Research which has actual... approached for a grant-in-aid.

Readers of this volume cann... conclude that epigraphical studies ha... bright future. The welcome feature of... articles included here is the fact that... are written not only by the senior but al... the up and coming scholars interest... epigraphy. The volume includes some ... presented at the Indore Congress in Oc... 1975 and at the Udipi Congress in ... 1977.

It is the fond hope of the Editori... to bring out from the year 1978 atle... issues of the Journal per year. Th... could materialise if the eagerly awaite... cial backing arrives.

K. V. Ra...
Secretary and Executi...
(For and on behalf of the Edit...)

ᐟTE OF TIVARADEVA

V.V.Mirashi

n tı. ...asekhara Sarma Com-
...ration Volume (Journal of the Andhra ...rical Research Society), pp. 169 ff., Ajay ...ra Shastri has criticised my interpretation ... Trivara-nagara occurring in the Īpūr[1] ...d Pulombūru[2] plates of Vishṇukuṇḍin ...ādhavavarman I, and also my date for ...ara, the well-known king of the Sōma-...ṁśa or Pāṇḍava-vaṁśa. He has not ...gested any new interpretation of the ex-...ssion Trivara-nagara but has only pointed ...that the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Mādhava-...an could not have defeated Tīvaradēva ...outh Kōsala because the date of the ... cannot be later than 519-20 A.D. and ...of the latter cannot be earlier than ... A. D.

...he date of Tīvaradēva is indeed a tough ...em of ancient Indian history. It has to ...lved on the evidence of synchronysms ...few indications of definite dates in the ...ly discovered records. In this connec-...we shall have to consider the relations ...e Śarabhapurīyas, the Vākāṭakas, the ...ṇukuṇḍins, the Sōmavaṁśis, and the ...ukharis. I shall first state what definite ...es for the solution of this problem have ...een obtained from recent discoveries and ...hen proceed to fix more or less ...finite ...lates for the different kings concerne... this ...roblem.

I discussed the problem of the date of ...aradēva first while editing the Ṭhāk...diyā ...es of Mahā-Pravararāja in *Ep.Ind.*, XXII, pp. 15 ff. more than forty years ... Till then Tīvaradēva was placed in the ...ntury. Again, the Śarabhapurīyas w... ...posed to have flourished later than ... ...mavaṁśīyas such as Tīvaradēva. F... the date of the Āraṅg plates[3] of Bhīma... II was supposed to be 282 of the Gupta ... All these wrong notions had to be corrected. The proper meaning of *Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yuvati-nandanaḥ* or *-parama-yuvati-viharaṇa-ratiḥ* had to be point-ed out. After utilising all evidence available till then, I tentatively fixed the date of Tīvaradēva as 515-535 A. D.[4] Since then we have some important data on which to base our conclusions. I shall state them briefly in the sequel.

CHRONOLOGICAL RELATION OF BH...NA II OF THE ARANG PLATES AND THE LATER SARABHAPURIYAS:

I have shown elsewhere[5] that Bh... II, who issued the Āraṅg plates, ... ruling in the Gupta year 182 (501-02 A. D.) and not in the Gupta year 282 (601-02 A. D.). His capital was probably at Śirpūr, which lies only a few miles from Āraṅg. He seems to have been succeeded at Śirpūr by the Śarabha-purīya king Mahā-Sudēvarāja.[6] The earlier kings of this family were ruling from Śarabha-pura, probably founded by king Śarabha, who was a contemporary of the Gupta king Budhagupta,[7] and flourished in 484 A. D. Mahā-Sudēvarāja's Khariar plates[8] dated in second regnal year were issued from Śarabha-pura, but his Sirpur plates[9] of the 7th year were granted at Śrīpura. Again, his Raipur plates[10] of the 10th year were issued from Śarabhapura. This indicates that he made Śrīpura near Raipur his second capital some time after the 2nd regnal year. His successor Mahā-Pravararāja's only known grant[11] was issued from Śrīpura in the 2nd year. He is the last known king of the

Śarabhapurīya family. He was overthrown by Tīvaradēva.

Bhīmasēna II was reigning at Śrīpura 501 A.D. The two Śarabhapurīya kings o followed him may at most have ruled for about 15 years.[12] As Bhīmasēna II also may have ruled for some years after issuing his Āraṅg plate, we may place the commencement of Tīvaradēva's rule at Śrīpura in 520 A.D. This is of course tentative. We shall try to be more definite later on.

TIVARADEVA AND VISHNUKUNDIN MADHAVAVARMAN I:

Another important clue to the date of Tīvaradēva is given by the description in the Īpūr and Pulombūru plates of the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I that he delighted the hearts of or sported with the l... of Trivara-nagara, *i. e.*, the city of ...dēva. The significance of this description was for the first time shown in my aforementioned article on the Ṭhākurdiyā plates of Mahā-Pravararāja. I pointed out at the time that it was a way of suggesting that he defeated and entered the capital of Tīvaradēva. I cited similar passages from classical Sanskrit and Prakrit literature in support of my interpretation.[13] But, have we any evidence to prove that Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman's supremacy extended to Dakshiṇa Kōsala? Fortunately, the necessary evidence has now become available.

In the Tummalgūḍem plates (First Set)[14] of Vikramēndravarman we read in lines 8 and 9 the description of Mādhavavarman I that he was the lord of the Earth extending to the eastern and southern seas and to the river Rēvā (Narmadā) (in the north). This leaves no doubt that he had defeated Tīvaradēva, the ruler of Dakshiṇa Kōsala, which lies to the south of the Narmadā.

We must next fix the date of this Mādhavavarman I. We know that he had married a Vākāṭaka princess.[15] She was probably a daughter or some near relation of Harishēṇa, the last known Vākāṭaka king. From the Ajaṇṭā inscription[16] (cave XVI) we learn that Harishēṇa had conquered the Āndhra country. As I have shown elsewhere,[17] he probably defeated the contemporary Śālaṅkāyana king and gave his kingdom to Gōvindavarman of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family and probably gave a Vākāṭaka princess to his son Mādhavavarman to cement the political alliance. Mādhavavarman's victory over Tīvaradēva is first suggested in the former's plates dated in the 37th regnal year. To settle its date approximately we must determine, if possible, the date of the accession of Mādhavavarman I. Fortunately this has now become possible by the discovery of Tummalgūḍem plates. I have discussed this question in detail elsewhere,[18] but I may briefly indicate the evidence here.

As stated before, Mādhavavarman was a junior contemporary of Vākāṭaka Harishēṇa. The latter's date used to be fixed as 500-520 A. D.[19] but after the discovery of the Bāsim plates, I showed that it must be revised as 475-500.[20] This date has been corroborated by the subsequent discovery of the Hisse-Borala inscription[21] of his father Dēvasēna, dated Śaka 380 (458-59 A. D.). Mādhavavarman I was a junior contemporary of Harishēṇa. So he may be referred conjecturally to the period 490-535 A. D. His Pulombūru plates mention a lunar eclipse in Phālguna in the 40th regnal year.[22] It may have occurred in *circa* (490 plus 40=) 530 A. D. Let us next consider this matter from another point of view. The Tummalgūḍem plates of Vikramēndravarman II, the great-grandson of Mādhavavarman, are dated in the Śaka year

488 or 566 A. D. They were issued in his eleventh regnal year. His father Indravarman and his great-grandfather Mādhavavarman I are known to have reigned atleast for 27 and 40 years respectively.[23] So the total of the known regnal years of these three kings comes to (40+27+11=) 78 years.[24] The Tummalgūḍem plates of Vikramēndravarman are dated in Śaka 488 or 566 A. D. Deducting 78 from this we get 488 A. D. as the lower limit of the accession of Mādhavavarman I as the three kings may have actually reigned for some years more than are known from their discovered grants. The lunar eclipse in Phālguna in the 40th year of Mādhavavarman I must have occurred in some year before 488+40=528 A. D. Now according to Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* there were lunar eclipses in the month of Phālguna in all the three years, A. D. 527, 528 and 529, but there was no lunar eclipse in Phālguna in any previous year from A. D. 501 to 526. The lunar eclipse in Phālguna mentioned in the Pulomburu plates was probably that in 527 A. D. Mādhavavarman was then ruling for 40 years. So his accession must have occurred in (527 minus 40=) 487 A. D. This agrees with his date 490-535 A. D. conjecturally settled above on the basis of his relation with the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa. His defeat of Tīvaradēva had occurred some time before (487+37=) 524 A. D.[25] Tīvaradēva may, therefore, have come to the throne in *circa* 520 A. D.

CONTEMPORANEITY OF HARSHAGUPTA AND MAUKHARI SURYAVARMAN:

The genealogical table of the early Sōmavaṁśis relevant for our discussion is as follows :—

Nannadēva
- Tīvaradēva
- Chandragupta
  - Harshagupta
    - Mahā-Śivagupta
    - Raṇakēsarin

The Śirpur stone inscription[26] of Mahā-Śivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna states that his mother Vāsaṭā was a daughter of the Maukhari Sūryavarman. We know of only one Maukhari prince of this name, and he is mentioned as a prince in the Harāhā stone inscription of his father Īśānavarman dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 611 (=555 A. D.). Harshagupta's accession may, therefore, be conjecturally placed in 560 A. D. This is corroborated by the accession of his son Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna, which, on the evidence of his Bōṇḍā plates[27], I have fixed definitely in 595 A. D.

The dates, some of them approximate, of the following kings may, therefore, be tentatively fixed as follows :—

VAKATAKAS	VISHNUKUNDINS	SOMAVAMSIS	
Harishēṇa (*c*. 475-500)	Gōvindavarman	Nannadēva	
	Mādhavavarman I (*c*. 487-528) (accession-487 A.D.)	Tivaradēva (*c*. 520-540)	Chandragupta (*c*. 540-560)
	Indravarman (*c*. 528-555 A.D.)		Harshagupta (*c*. 560-595)
	Vikramēndravarman (*c*. known date 566) (accession 555 A. D.)		Mahā-Śivagupta (accession 595 A.D.)

There is nothing impossible in the dates assigned to the kings mentioned above. The only possible explanation of the expression *Trivara-nagara* is as given above.[28] Tivara was the current name of the king. So it occurs in his plates.[29] It has been Sanskritised as Trivara in the grants of Mādhavavarman I.[30]

Notes :—

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 334 ff.
2. *JAHRS*, Vol. VI, pp 17 ff
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff.
4. *Ibid*, Vol. XXII, pp. 19 ff
5. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* (*BDCRI*), Vol. VIII, pp 50 ff
6. *Ibid*, Vol. VIII, p 50
7. *CII.*, Vol. III, p. 50.
8. *Ep Ind.*, Vol IX, pp. 170 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 103 ff.
10. *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 196 ff.
11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 15 ff
12. The total number of the known regnal years of Mahā-Sudēvarāja and Mahā-Pravararāja does not exceed 12.
13. See *Raghuvaṁśa*, VII, vv. 5 ff.; *Kumārasambhava*, VII, vv. 56 ff.; *Gaüḍavahō*, v. 1069.
14. See *prāg-dakshiṇāmbunidhi-Rēvā-salila-valaya-vibhūshaṇāyā bhuvō bhartur-Mahārāja-śrī-Mādhavavarmaṇaḥ. Epigraphia Andhrica (Ep. Andh.)*, II, p. 15. I do not accept the Editor's view about the attribution of these plates. See my article on these plates in the coming Vol. of *Ep. Andh.*

15. See *e.g.* the Chikkuḷḷa plates of Vikramēndravarman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 193 ff.
16. *CII.*, Vol. V, pp. 103 ff.
17. See my article in the forthcoming issue of *Ep. Andh.*
18. *Loc. cit.*
19. Jayaswal, *History of India, A. D. 150-350*, p. 103.
20. *CII.*, Vol. IV, Intro., pp. 5 ff.
21. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 1 ff.
22. The date of this inscription has been wrongly read as 48. There is only one numerical symbol, which cannot signify two numbers 40 and 8. It signifies forty only. See Bühler's *Indisch Palaeographie*, Table, IX, column XI.
23. See the Rāmatīrtham plates of Indravarman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 134 ff. and the Pulombūru plates of Mādhavavarman I, *JAHRS.*, Vol VI, pp. 17 ff. The regnal year in the latter plates is 40, not 48, as stated above.
24. The name of Vikramēndravarman I has been omitted as he seems to have predeceased his father Mādhavavarman I, who had a long reign of more than 40 years. No records of his reign have been found so far. In some records (eg. Chikkuḷḷa plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 193 ff.) he is mentioned without any royal title and though in the Tummalgūḍem plates and other later grants he is called *Mahārāja*, unlike other kings of the family, he is not glorified. That title seems to have been used there by way of courtesy.
25. It is first mentioned in the Īpūru plates of Mādhavavarman I, dated in the 37th regnal year.
26. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 184 ff.
27. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 60 ff.
28. Some other explanations of *Trivara-nagara* are (1) the city of Tripurī (now called Tēwār near Jabalpur) and (2) the best three cities. Neither of these would suit to the context.
29. See eg. his Rājim plates, *CII.*, Vol. III, pp. 231 ff.
30. I have thus shown that the mention of the 11th regnal year in the Tummalgūḍem plates dated Śaka 488 (566 A. D.) does not conflict with the contemporaneity of Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman and Tīvaradēva. So It should not surprise A. M. Shastri. (See f. n. 28 in *Somasekhara Sarma Commemoration Volume*, p. 168).

Though I have reconciled all known dates of the Vishṇukuṇḍin and other kings, the scheme proposed above may be objected to on two grounds:- (1) No regal years of Vikramēndravarman I have been included in it and (2) Mādhavavarman I's and Indravarman's reigns are supposed to have come to an end almost immediately after their known last regnal dates. I have replied to the first objection above. As for the second, the evidence of Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* is clear on the point. So I have no doubt about the corrections of the chronological scheme detailed above.

2. NOTE ON THE RAJAPRASASTI INSCRIPTION

D.C.Sircar

The main theme of the *Rājapraśasti-mahākāvya*, composed by the Teluṅga Paṇḍita Raṇachhōḍa in Vikrama 1732 or 1675 A. D., during the rule of Rāṇā Rājasiṁha of Mēwār, was the excavation of an artificial lake (called Rājasamudra or Rāyasāgara) by the Rāṇā near Rājanagar. It is complete in 24 cantos engraved on 25 slabs of stone fixed at the Navachōkī Ghaut of the lake. We are concerned here only with verse 16 of Canto III incised on Slab IV.

The *praśasti* was finally edited by N. P. Chakravarti and B. Ch. Chhabra in an Appendix to the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vols. XXIX-XXX (pp. 1-123). The verse has been read as follows:-

Dvātriṁśad-udyattama-ḍhabbuk-ādyaiḥ
prastha(sth-ā)bhidhaiḥ śēra-varaiḥ kṛitasya ।
maṇasya ch=aikasya bharaṁ hi chatvā-
riṁśan-nitairvi(r=bi)bhrad-asiṁ dadhānaṁ[1] ॥

In the Abstract of contents of the text, Chakravarti and Chhabra say, "The verses 13-17 describe Vāshpa's (i. e. Bappa Rāval's) valour and appearance: he used to wear a gold bracelet weighing 50 *palas* which was given to him by his preceptor Hārīta who, in turn, had received it from Śiva (Ēkaliṅga)".[2] In this summary unfortunately, verse 16 has been altogether omitted probably because it was not realised that Bappa is credited here with another achievement as striking as wearing a gold bracelet weighing *paṁchāśad-udyat-pala*, i. e. 200 Tolās, i. e. 2½ Calcutta seers. The mention of *Dhabbūka* occurs again in the *Rājapraśasti-mahākāvya*, XXIV. 30 inscribed on Slab XXV, where it is stated that Rāṇā Rājasiṁha purchased Rs. 1500 worth of *ḍhabbūkas* and placed them at a bridge for distribution.[3]

The verse in question says that Bappa's sword weighed one *maṇa* made of 40 *śēras* (seers), called *prasthas*, each *śēra* or *prastha* having the weight of 32 of what is called *ḍhabbuka*, etc.[4] The expression *ḍhabbuk-ādya* probably suggests that *ḍhabbuka* was also known by other names. We have to determine the weight of the *ḍhabbuka* in finding out the weight of Bappa's sword.

The *Hobson-Jobson*[5] mentions the same name as *Dabbu* (*Ḍabbu*) and *Idappu* (*Iḍappu*) respectively in Telugu and Tamil and as *Dub* or *Dabou* of the Europeans. It quotes a work of 1781 in which we are told that the *Fanam* changed for 11 *Dubs* and 4 *Cash* and a few other works according to which 80 *Cash* made one *Fanam* while 10 *Cash* were equal to 1 *Doodee* (i.e. *Dub*), 2 *Doodees* being equal to 1 *Pice*, and 8 *Doodees* equal to 1 single *Fanam* (at Madras in 1813). Here we learn that *Doodee* or *Dub* was equal to a half-*pice* of Indo-British currency probably in the old Madras Presidency, though the *ḍhabbu* was heavier elsewhere as we shall see below.

D.R. Bhandarkar speaks of the unstamped copper pieces called *ḍhābuā* (i. e. *ḍhabbuka*) which circulated freely as coins in Bengal not long before he delivered his lectures on early Indian numismatics at the University of Calcutta in 1921.[6] The *Marāṭhī Śabdakōśa* (1935) by Date and Karve calls the same object *ḍhabu*, *ḍhabbū* or *ḍhabbūka* and regards it as equal to two *Pice* or *half-anna*, i.e. 1/32 of a silver Rupee. Wilsons'

Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms also recognises *dhabbu* (possibly a mistake for *ḍhabbu*) as a Marāṭhī word meaning a double *pice*. Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa's *Dharmadvaita-nirṇaya* (*c.* 1600 A. D.) speaks of 8 *ḍhabbukas* as equal to *16 paṇas* or one *kārshāpaṇa* in Eastern India and states, wrongly of course, that according to Kātyāyana and Nārada, 1 *kārshāpaṇa* was equal to 8 *ḍhabbukas* at some places, but 10 *ḍhabbukas* at others. This seems to suggest that the *ḍhabbuka* was regarded as equal to 160 cowries at some and 128 cowries at other areas.

According to A.S. Altekar, *ḍhabbu*, which was in extensive use as money in Bihar and U. P., was an unstamped copper piece very common in the market till the beginning of the present century. He says, "It was a private copper currency having no stamp, no bust and no inscription. Its shape was not uniform and its weight was usually one Tolā, that is, double the weight of a Pice of the British. As it was most extensively in use in the Gorakhpur Division, it was also called the Gōrakhpurī Paisā in U. P."[8]

It will be seen that the *ḍhabbu* of Bihar and U. P. and also the *ḍhābuā* of Bengal apparently weighed one *tolā* so that it had the same weight as the old copper *paṇa* or *kārshāpaṇa* of 80 *ratis* ; but that may not have been the weight of the *ḍhabbuka* of Rajasthan during the 17th century when the *Rājapraśasti-mahākāvya* was composed and engraved on stone slabs.

The text of Cantos II-III of the *Rājapraśasti-mahākāvya* was copied and translated with some notes in the *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*,[9] published in the closing years of the last century from Bhavnagar in Gujarat. The 16th verse of Canto III has been translated in this work as follows :—

"He kept (lit., wore) a sword weighing one *maṇa* of 40 *paccā sers* called *prasthas* [each weighing] 32 large *ḍhabbus* and such other [coins]," and a foot-note on *ḍhabbu* adds, "A *ḍhabbu* is a Jodhpur coin and is so called from Tipoo whose name it bears. It weighs about 2 Rupees."

What the *Bhavnagar Inscriptions* says about the origin of the name *ḍhabbu* can hardly be accepted ; but what it says about the weight of the Jodhpur *ḍhabbus* is correct. As regards the late medieval copper coinage of Jodhpur or Marwar, W.W. Webb said in 1893, "The original copper coin of the State was the Bijay Shāhī, which was also called 'Dhabū Sāhī' on account of its great weight. In the time of Bhīm Singh, A. D. 1792-1803, the name was changed to 'Bhīm Shāhī', and the weight of the coins was increased by two Māshās. The Bhīm Shāhī coin is still used as the standard in the weighing of opium; its value in Imperial money is nearly six pies. The weight of the copper coin was afterwards reduced to the first standard. The copper coins are now generally known by the name 'Dhabū Sāhī'. The copper money is not made at the state mints, but by certain traders, who pay a royalty of three Rupees per maund for the privilege of coining it. The Dhabū coins are also current in the Sirohi State which is ruled over by the Deorā Prince (Chōhān)."[10] For the Vijayaśāhi or Bhīmaśāhī coins, the weight is recorded as between 310 and 320 grains while the Āmiraśāhī coins, originally issued about the middle of the 7th century, is stated to have weighed 255 grains. It seems that the *ḍhābūs* of Jodhpur, Sirohi and Mewar weighed two *tolās* or 292 grains during the days of Rājasiṁha, so

that the weight of Bappa's sword was probably one *maund* of 40 *seers* of 64 *tolās* each. It may be mentioned that Webb speaks of the old Bhilwara *paisā* of Mēwār, which weighed 273 grains.[11] However, the *ḍhabbukas* of Rajasthan of the 17th and 18th centuries, unlike the *ḍhabbu* or *ḍhābuā* of contempory U. P., Bihar and Bengal, were not unstamped copper pieces, though they may have been unstamped pieces of lesser weight in an earlier epoch. It is inexplicable why Webb mentions the value of the coin as six pies, i.e. 2 *pice*, but gives its weight as 2 *tolās*, i. e. the weight of 4 *pice*. Some scholars have said that twelve thousand *ḍhabbūka* coins could be manufactured out of one maund of copper.[12] This is an obvious mistake because the weight of 12000 *ḍhabbūkas* was 24000 *tolās* which make no less than 7-1/2 Calcutta *maunds* and must also be equal to a number of Rajasthani *maunds*.

What has been said above would show that the unstamped *ḍhabbu* pieces of copper were current in wide areas of the country during the late medieval and modern periods, although at some places they developed into stamped coins and had different weights. What is of great importance is that we have evidence in favour of similar unstamped pieces of other metals having been in use in India as coins especially during the early period.

About 200 A. D., Philostratus speaks of a type of Indian money, which was current about the present North-West Frontier region and was made of orichalcum and bronze, as 'purely Indian and not stamped like the Roman and Median coins'.[13] The reference seems to be to *ḍhabbus* of brass.

Likewise, there is evidence about the prevalence of *ḍhabbus* of silver. Thus, in the year 1945, a hoard of coins, deposited in an earthen jar not much later than 100 A. D., was discovered at a place called Eyyal, 22 miles north-west of Trichur in Kerala. This hoard yielded the following stamped and unstamped money:—(1) 12 Roman gold coins including those of Trajan, Nero, Claudius and Tiberius; (2) about 50 Roman silver coins including the issues of Augustus and of late Republican days; (3) 12 silver punch-marked coins; and (4) some unstamped pieces of silver.[14] This points to the use of *ḍhabbu*-type pieces of silver in South India during the early centuries of the Christian era side by side with the punch-marked silver coins as well as the foreign Roman coins.

The evidence discussed above to prove the prevalence of *ḍhabbus* of copper, brass and silver in the Indian market during the early, medieval and modern periods throws some welcome light on an interesting problem of Indian numismatics. It concerns the mention of such gold money as *nishka*, *śatamāna*, and *pāda* or *suvarṇa-kārshāpaṇa* in early Indian literary works composed considerably before the beginning of the Christian era[15] and the absence of any gold coins among the thousands of old Indian coins belonging to the pre-Kushāṇa age, which have been discovered in different parts of the country. Of course, the heavy weight (320 *ratis*, one *rati* being 1. 83 grains) of the old *nishka* or *śatamāna* show that it was not meant for regular use in the market, but may have been made for use on particular occasions. Thus the old *nishka* or *śatamāna* and *pāda* or *suvarṇa-kārshāpaṇa* appear to have been gold *ḍhabbus* weighing 320 and 80 *ratis* respectively. In the same way, the

original silver *kārshāpaṇa*, seems to have weighed one *karsha* or 80 *ratis* though the *Manusmṛiti* of the Kushāṇa age and later works mention 32 *ratis*[16] as the weight of the silver *kārshāpaṇa*,[17] and, among the thousands of old silver coins so far discovered in India, there is hardly any coin weighing 80 *ratis* or 146 grains. Thus *kārshāpaṇa* mentioned in early works like Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*[18] (V. 3. 29), composed about the 5th century B.C., may have been silver *ḍhabbus* if, of course, it is not taken to be identical with the *paṇa* or *kārshāpaṇa* of copper.

Notes :

1 Read *dadhānam.*
2 See *op. cit.*, p. 93.
3 See *op. cit.*, p. 88, text lines 26-27 ; Vol. XXX, p. 114.
4 Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* recognises *Prastha* as equal to 48 handfulls (of grains) and as sometimes regarded as the same as Ser.
5 London, 1903, s. v. *Dub* (pp. 237-28) and *Cash* (pp. 167-68).
6 *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 70.
7 *JNSI.*, Vol. VI, pp. 57-58.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
9 See Nos. XIII-XIV at pp. 145-54.
10 *Currencies of the Hindu States of Rajputana*, pp. 47-48.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 14. The weight has sometimes been given as 307 grains.
12 *JNSI.*, Vol. XIX, p. 198 ; B. N. Rege, *Marvāḍ kā Itihās*, Vol. II, p. 643.
13 See portions of his work entitled *Ta es ton Tuanea Appollonion* or *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* quoted by R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, p. 385.
14 See *JNSI.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 110 ff.
15 Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar's views in *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, Chapter II, in which these, mostly mentioned in Vedic literature, are regarded as genuine coins.
16 See the *Amarakōśa*, Vaiśya-varga, verse 88 ; Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 76. The *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* also speaks of the weight of the same silver coin as near about 80 *ratis*. See Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
17 *Ibid.*, p. 73.
18 Pāṇini (V. 1.30, 34 and 35) also mentions *nishka*, *pāda*, *māsha* and *śāṇa*.

3. AN INTERESTING PERSIAN INSCRIPTION FROM BARODA IN GUJARAT

Z.A.Desai

This is an important epigraph referring very probably to an offshoot of the Sōmnāth expedition of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna of 1024 A.D. I qualify my statement with probability because, the epigraphical tablet being fragmentary, some important details having a direct bearing on this aspect are lost; moreover, if the Sōmnāth expedition is not intended, at least an expedition of Gujarat by the Ghazna Sultān or his forces immediately or in any case not much long thereafter, is at least reported by this epigraph. Since no such expedition is known from any other source, written or otherwise, very probably the inscription must refer to the Sōmnāth expedition; even otherwise, the inscription would be very important in referring to another Ghazna invasion not recorded elsewhere.

This epigraph was discovered by N.M. Ghanam, now Senior Technical Assistant in the Western Circle (Baroda) of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1971 or so and was listed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1971-72 under No. 8 of Appendix D. The epigraphical tablet now lying loose in the mausoleum of Pīr Amīr Tāhir, a local saint, situated in the compound of the mosque of the Pīrāmītār localitiy of Baroda city is of modest dimensions. Measuring 18 by 25 cm., it is rectangular in shape and has lost some portion on the top and the sides and, as a result, some portion of the text is lost. The lost portion seems to have consisted of a couple of lines at the top and a few words in the beginning of the middle portion of its extant 11-line text. While the missing lines do not offer a major handicap as far as the general purport is concerned, the most unfortunate lacunae thus caused is of the dates: that of the event mentioned therein and that of the setting up of the record.

Nevertheless, the epigraph is extremely interesting, as it provides information not recorded anywhere else, in connection with the invasion of Sōmnāth by Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna, which, as is well-known, took place in 1024 A.D. It refers to the martyrdom of Tāhir, the name of whose father, beginning with the title Amīr, is lost, but who is mentioned as a son of the brother of Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī. He is reported to have lost his life along with eleven companions in the battle fought between them and the infidels or non-belivers, that is, the Hindus in the northern precincts of the Bheṣānā tank. The text further promises that whoever might visit the graves of these martyrs and recite *Fātiḥa* prayers, would have their wishes, both in this world as also in the hereafter, fulfilled through the blessings of the prophets, the martyrs and the said Amīr. Though not categorically stated to be so, it is obvious that the Amīr and his companions were buried at the site of the battle as has been the general practice. As stated above, the extant text is silent, both about the date of the event or of the setting up of the tablet. But the writing can be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to a date not later than the 15th century and perhaps even earlier,[1] and, as such, the epigraph must have been set up 500 years ago, if not more.

The style of writing of the epigraph is Naskh of a fairly good quality. Its letters have a marked sharpness of outline and cursiveness which is found in a number of inscriptions of Gujarat. The epigraph reads as follows:—

TEXT

1. Sabili' llāh Amīr Tāhir.........Amīr......
2. birādarzāda-i-Sultān al-Mujāhid [Qāmi'—]
3. u'l-kafara Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī dar......
4. nazdīk-i-Haud-i-Bhesāna janib-i-shimāl bā kuffar
5. ḥarb karda bā yāzdah nafar shahīd shuda . Har ān (?)
6. kasān ke (?) īn kushkahā biyāyad (?) bi-bandagī......
7. ...rā dar-īn marqad-i-sharīf rū nihad......
8. ...ahl-i-Islam ziyārat kunand wa bi-Fātiḥat
9. u'l-Kitāb (?) yād kunand, az barakat-i-Jami-i-Anbiyā wa shuhada
10. wa īn buzurgwār ḥājat-i-dīnī wa dunyāvī-i-īshān
11. ravā gardad bi-minnihī wa kamāl-i-karamihī . Amīn Rabba'l-ālamīn !

Translation

1. Path of Allāh,[2] Amīr Tāhir son of A[mīr]...
2. nephew of Sultān al-Mujāhid (i.e. warrior in the cause of religion), the subduer of
3-5. the infidels, Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī, having fought the infidels in the vicinity of the Tank[3] of Bhesāna, towards north, and was killed (lit. attained martyrdom) along with eleven persons. Whoever
6. ...comes to.........these martyrs (lit. killed ones), to his Holiness....
7. ...turns his face towards this august mausoleum.........
8. ...the followers of Islām (i.e. Muslims) pay a visit, and remember him with Fātiḥa ..
9. of the Book,[4] (through the blessings) of all the prophets, martyrs
10. and this illustrious man, their needs, whether religious or temporal,
11. will be achieved, through His bounty and His perfect generosity. Amen ! O Lord of the Worlds !

This inscription, fragmentary as it is, is thus quite interesting. That it provides atleast a 500 years old reference to the Sultān Maḥmūd's invasion of Gujarat is relatively not so important in view of contemporary and near contemporary accounts of the same,[5] though it does indicate that in the 14th-15th century Gujarat, if not earlier, the said invasion was believed to have taken place. But, there is one piece of information supplied, albeit indirectly, by the inscription under study, which is highly significant : the epigraph refers to a site north of the Bhesānā tank as the venue of the battle between Amīr Tāhir and the local chief or his forces, the infidels of the text. As far as has been established on the evidence of contemporary account of Sultān Maḥmūd's court-poet Farrukhī who had accompanied him in his expedition to Sōmnāth, this place (now included in modern Baroda, as will be seen further on) did not lie on the Sōmnāth route of Maḥmūd's army.[6] This could only

be interpreted to indicate that the battle referred to in the epigraph did not involve the main Ghazna army, but the encounter took place between a contingent of soldiers led by Amīr Tāhir which was sent either by way of task-force or on scout-duty or to ward off or contain or pursue any local forces that might have been acting as resistance army or was a part of contingent assigned for ensuring supplies on the way. It may perhaps be that the contingent led by Amīr Tāhir had strayed away from the main route, for the site of the battle is pretty far from any point on the said route.

Again, it is not explicit whether this engagement took place on way to or return from Sōmnāth, though very likely the event took place on way there, as the return route of the Sultān's army was further west from the region in question. Thus, it is through this record that we know for the first time about a subsidiary event connected with Maḥmūd's Gujarat expedition. It may perhaps be argued that the text does not specifically mention this battle or skirmish as a part or offshoot of this expedition, but firstly, as seen above, the entire text of the record has not come down to us, and secondly, history knows of no other expedition of Sultān Maḥmūd's successor in this region — to such an interior place situated further south from the then Gujarat capital Nahrwālā Pāṭan— more than 200 kms. towards south-east. Therefore, the encounter mentioned in the epigraph must have been part of or connected with the Sōmnāth expedition. That Amīr Tāhir must have led a contingent of the Sultān's force and not come on his own or on behalf of any other party is also obvious.

In either case, the epigraph under study provides some new infomation about the Ghaznavid invasion of Gujarat.

The epigraph is again very important in that it enables us to pinpoint with a fair amount of certainty the place in the present city of Baroda which witnessed the battle in which Amīr Tāhir and his soldiers fell. The encounter is clearly stated, in the epigraph, to have taken place in the immediate vicinity of the Bhesānā Tank, towards north. That this site roughly corresponded with the present area or quarter Pīrāmitār, in which the Tomb, where the loose slab is found, is situated, is quite apparent, as the site of the present Polo Ground or the Pratāpasiṁharao Gaikwāḍ Coronation Gymkhana Ground of the Baroda city is marked in old maps of the Baroda city to correspond to the original site of the Bhesānā Tank, and the Pīrāmitār Maḥalla is situated to the north of the said ground.[7] In the Śaka 734 (812-13 A. D.) grant of Karka Suvarṇavarsha, a 'Mahāsēnaka Tank' is mentioned as a separate geographical entity, to the south of Vaḍapadraka village, and this has been identified with Bhesānā Tank.[8] This would mean that in the first half of the 11th century, the date of the event, there existed here a village named Bhesānā, and to it belonged the tank ; 'the Bhesānā Tank' is the tank of Bhesānā in the text and was not intended as some specific name but very probably to convey the sense of the village tank—tank of such and such a village. At the time of setting up of the present epigraph, it can be safely surmised, the village Bhesānā had continued its separate existence: in other words Baroda village as it was then did not include this village Bhesānā nor even the area where the

battle was fought. Otherwise, the text would have mentioned Baroda. This also indirectly supports the surmise about the earlier date of the epigraph, for Baroda had already acquired prominence from the end of the 11th century, and by the 14th century it had acquired a status of district headquarters under the Tughluqs. This evidence is quite interesting for the history of the development of Baroda through the centuries and deserves due notice.

Lastly, the place-name Pīrāmitār would have defied authentic explanation but for this epigraph. The term can be easily connected, without any fear of contradiction, to the name 'Pīr Amīr Tāhir' meaning the saint Amīr Tāhir. Even the tomb of the saint perhaps owes its identification to the present epigraph, for Amīr Tāhir, now revered as a saint, is unknown from historical sources and his tomb could have been identified only through this record and he may have been revered as a saint, after his having died as a martyr came to be known through it. When this identification was made, it is of course difficult to say, but a systematic search in the old archives or land records of the Baroda city and its environs may provide a clue. Of course there is a strong possibility that the tomb might have been associated with Amīr Tāhir through a long local tradition, in which case too, the epigraph would be important in providing a documentary confirmation, though again, the possibility that the epigraph itself might have given birth to the tradition, cannot be ruled out.

Notes:

1. Cf. *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1961, pl. II b (dated 1264 A. D., from Prabhās Pāṭan), pl. IV (dated 1287 A. D., from Cambay); *ibid.*, 1962, pl. II c, (dated 1357 A. D., from Cambay), pl. VIII a (dated 1383-84 A. D., from Māngrol). pl. IX (dated 1385-86 A. D., from Māngrol); *ibid.*, 1963, pl. IX b (dated 1472 A. D., from Prabhās Pāṭan), etc.
2. The earlier part of this phrase contained in the preceding line, now lost, must have read something like *al-Mujāhid fī* i.e. striver in (the path of Allāh).
3. *Ḥaud* in the original i.e. *talāo* or *tālāb* of the vernacular.
4. The opening chapter of the *Qur'ān*.
5. It is perhaps due to our inadequate knowledge of or rather slackness in search not only of likely original sources but even modern researches that some of the modern writers, notably C. L. Vaidya and K.M. Munshi have doubted if the Sōmnāth expedition of Sultān Maḥmūd ever took place. A latest examination of the problem, including references to the contemporary and near contemporary evidence and modern researches, will be found in Mrs. Kusum Pārikh's, 'Some Controversial Points of the Temple of Sōmnāth', *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (January 1954), pp. 287-96. Earlier, the Sōmnāth expedition was exhaustively discussed by Muḥammad Nāzim in his *The Life and Times of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge, 1931), Appendix M, pp. 115-21, 208-24).
6. The route has been determined on written sources in Muḥammad Nāzim, *op. cit.* Also, a paper entitled 'An Account of Sultan Mahmud Ghazni's expedition of Gujarat from Farrukhi's Qasidas' was read by C. R. Naik at the XVII Session of the All India Oriental Conference held in 1953 at Ahmadabad. This paper does not appear to have been published, for the Proceedings of that Session contain only its summary (*Proc. All Ind. Or. Conference*, XVII Session, Ahmadabad, 1953).
7. B. Subbarao, *Baroda Through the Ages* (Baroda, 1953), p. 114.
8. *Ibid.*

4. OBSERVATIONS ON AN 'Unknown' SCRIPT

B. N. Mukherjee

A few epigraphs discovered in the last two decades in Afghanistan and South Uzbekistan (USSR), have been found inscribed in an unknown script. Some writers, including the present one, have made preliminary observations on this script.[1]

A slab (measuring 10X11 cm) was found, broken in two parts, in the ruins of the monument at Surkh-Kotal in the Kataghan region of North Eastern Afghanistan. It appears from the report on its discovery that the slab had been used as a building material.[2] Three lines of inscription appear on it. The letters, measuring 1X1.4 cm, are painted in black.[3] (figs. I and II).

FIGURE I

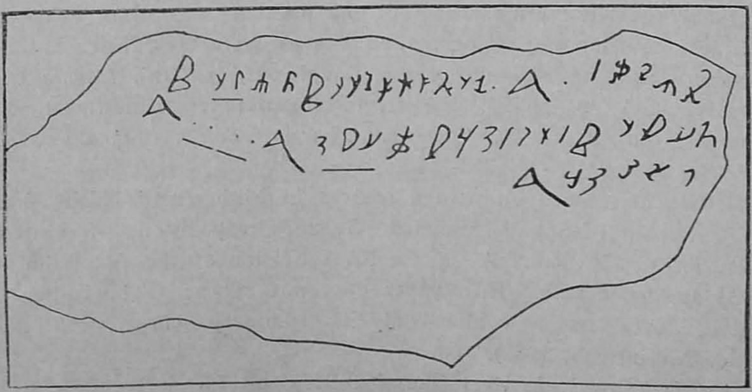


FIGURE II

A. Maricq observed in 1958 that the language and script of this inscription were "not yet identified". [4] Nevertheless, we may ascertain some interesting features of this script.

The first two lines of this record are more or less of equal length. The third line is only one-third of each of the other two lines in length. As the viewers see it, this line covers only a portion of the right half of the slab. The line was obviously written from right to left. It seems certain that the script employed here was used to be written, like Kharōshṭhī, from right to left.

This characteristic feature was noticed by the present writer in 1973.[5] It is heartening to see that his inference receives confirmation from an article published recently by G. Fussman.[6]

A few of the letters appearing in the Surkh-Kotal inscription are surely Greek. For examples, we can refer to *alpha* and *beta* in line 1, *beta*, *alpha* and lunate *sigma* (?) in line 2, and *alpha* in line 3. (figs. I and II).

Many of the painted characters can be recognised as Kharōshṭhī letters. Thus we see the letters *ho* (?) (no. 1), *si* (no. 4), *ja* (no. 8), *o* (no. 9), *chha* (no. 12), *vu* (?) (no. 13), *ṇo* (?) (no. 17), *śi* (no. 18), *na* (no. 19), etc., in line 1, *ka* (no. 1), *sa* (?) (no. 8), *na* (no. 9), *dha* (no. 10), *da* (?) (no. 11), *dha* (no. 16), etc., in line 2, and *dha* (no. 3), *dha* (no. 4), etc., in line 3. (figs. I and II).

Some of the characters seem to belong to Sogdian alphabet as employed in one of its early phases of development. Thus we can see characters conveying the sound of *h* (no. 2), *z* (no. 5), *ś* (?) (no. 10), *b* (or *k*) (nos. 14, 15 and 20), etc., in line 1, *ś* (?) (no. 2), *z* (no. 6), *p* (no. 15), etc., in line 2 and *w* (no. 1), *b* (no. 5), etc., in line 3[7]. (figs. I and II).

The thirteenth character of line 2 seems to be a combination of the Kharōshṭhī letter *ma* and Greek letter *phi*. (fig. I).

The study of the script concerned got a great impetus by the discovery of an epigraph (DN III) inscribed on a rock near Dasht-e Nāwur, situated 100 km to the south-west of Kabul and 40 km to the west of Ghazni.[8] A comparative study of this record and the Surkh Kotal inscription convinces one that they are written in the same script. (figs. I and VII).

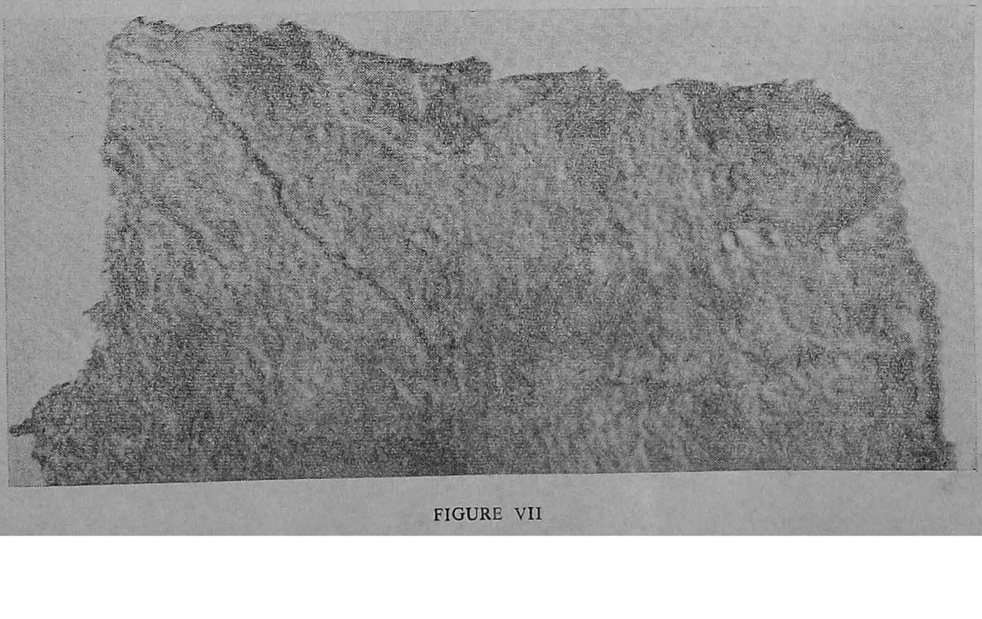


FIGURE VII

The Dasht-e Nāwur (DN) inscription, which employs the unknown script is engraved immediately below an epigraph written in an Indian (Prakrit) dialect and Kharōshṭhī script (DN IV). There is no mark separating the records from each other. A Bactrian epigraph in Greek characters (DN I) appears to the right of the inscription in an unknown script (DN III). The latter begins at the level of line 5 of the Bactrian inscription. There is no mark separating these two records. In fact line 6 of DN IV begins immediately after the end of line 11 of DN I. Again, line 12 of DN I ends immediately before line 7 of DN III.[9] (figs. III, IV, VI and VIII).

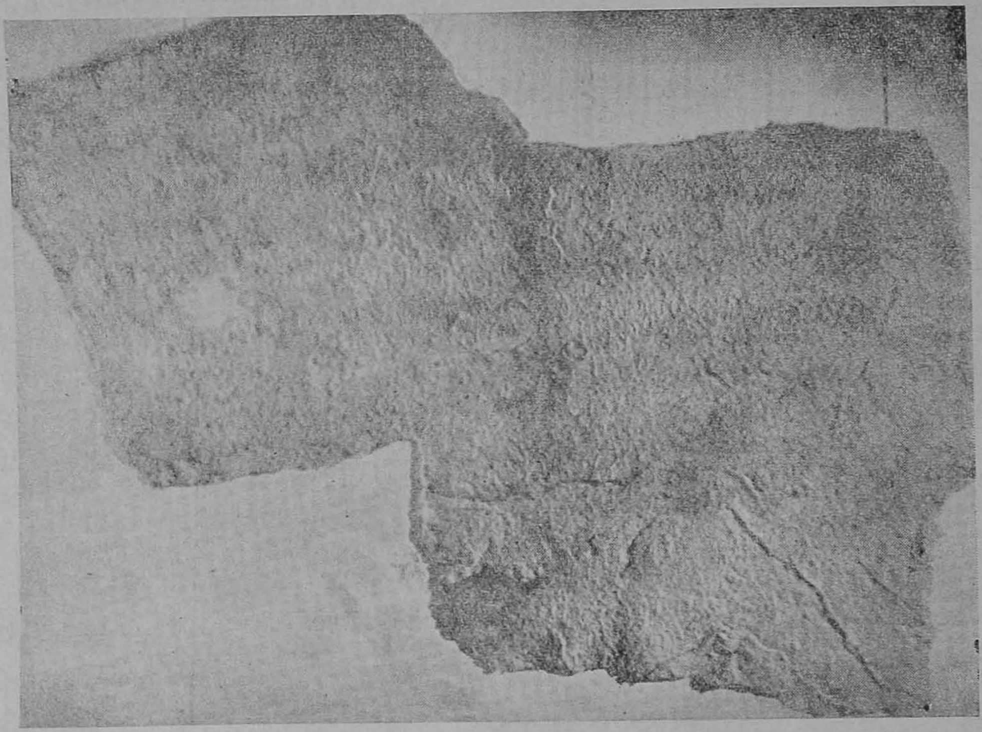


FIGURE III

It appears that all these inscriptions form a group and were engraved at about the same time. There is thus a *prima facie* possibility that the three epigraphs engraved in three different scripts, purported to record substantially the same thing.

As the Bactrian epigraph in the Greek script (DN I) is partly mutilated, its main purpose is not very clear. There is, however, no doubt that it begins with the date [in the year] 279 [and in the month of] Gorpiaios.[10] Shao Ooēmo......Koshano(?) is mentioned in lines 3-4, apparently as the reigning monarch (figs.V and VI).

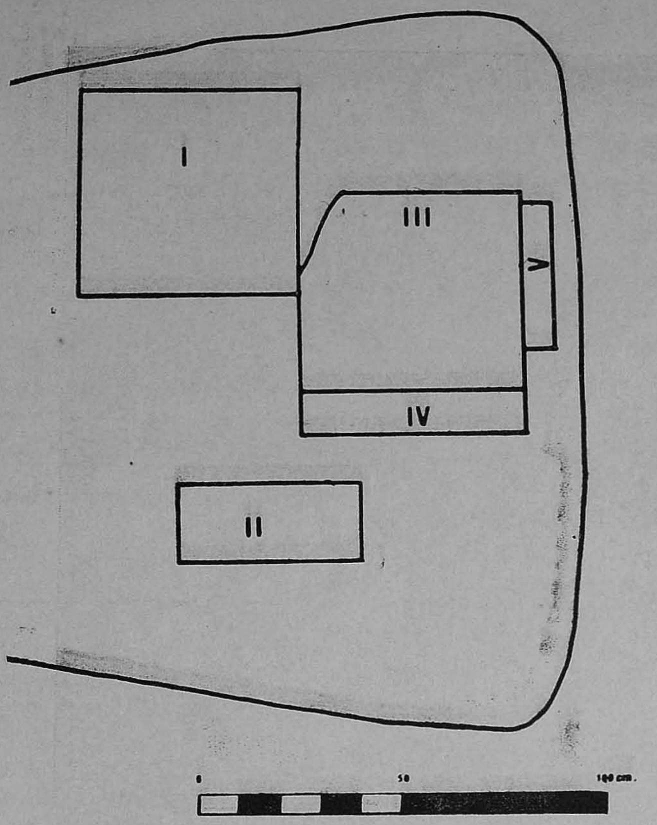


FIGURE IV

(Relative Positions of DN I TO IV—from Fussman)

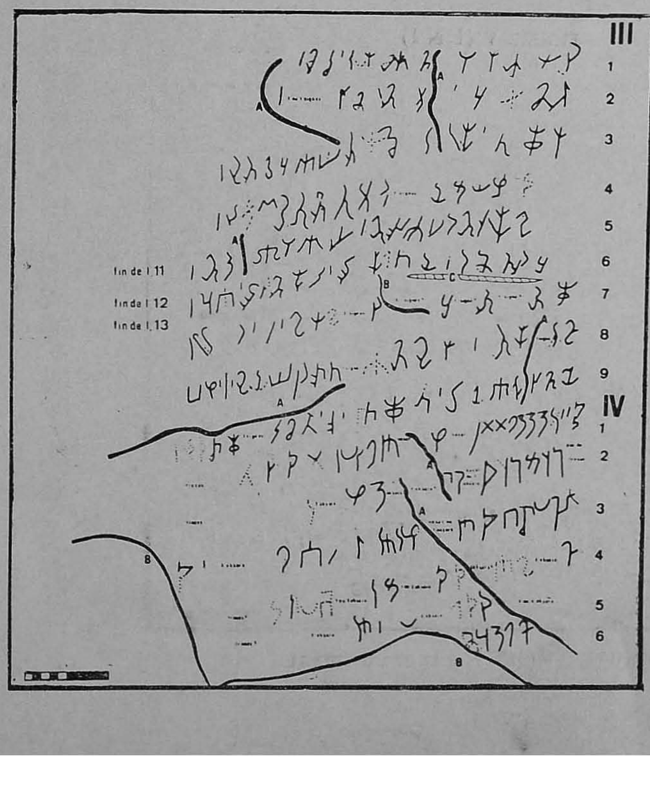


FIGURE III
(Adapted From Fussman)

FIGURE V (DN I)

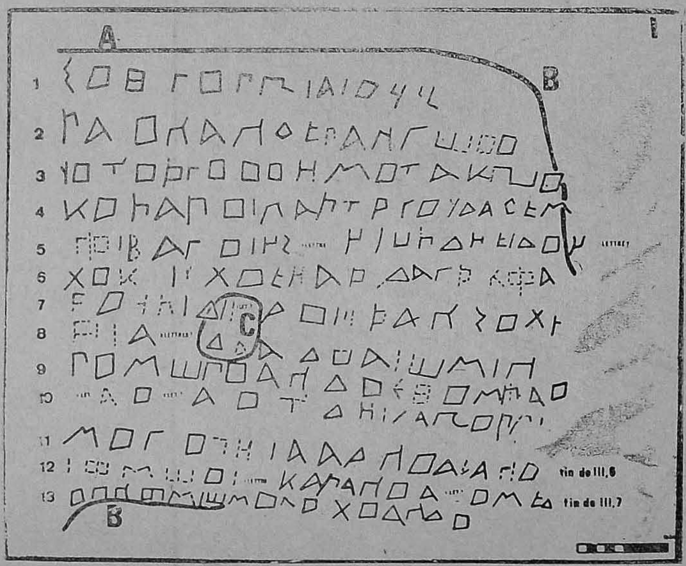


FIGURE VI (DN I; From Fussman)

The Prakrit inscription in the Kharōshṭhī script (DN IV), which is also mutilated, begins with the date *saṁ 1 1 100 20 20 20 10 4 4 1* (*i.e. 279*) *Gapiu*............... i. e. (in) the year 279 (in the month of) Gorpaios.[12] The expression *Rajatirajasa... dhrami* [*asa**] .... *Vhima kusasa* in lines 2-3 probably refers to Vhima, (of) the Kuśa [family*], the king of kings, the Righteous [person*][3] (figs. VII and VIII). Both the Bactrian and the Prakrit records (DN I and DN IV) are thus dated in the same year. Both of them refer to king Ooemo or Vhima, i. e. V'ima, of the Kushāṇa or Kuśa family, apparently as the reigning monarch. And since both of them, as their physical positions suggest, form parts of one single group, they seem to have recorded two versions of one and the same text.

This inference leads us to believe that the third version is rendered by the inscription in the "unknown" script (DN III) which forms the third component of the group and is engraved immediately above DN IV and to the immediate left of DN I (fig. IX). In fact, DN III begins with the expression *sa*(*ṁ*)[14] (figs. VIII and X), which may stand for *saṁvatsara* or "the year", and so may refer, like DN I and DN IV, to a date.

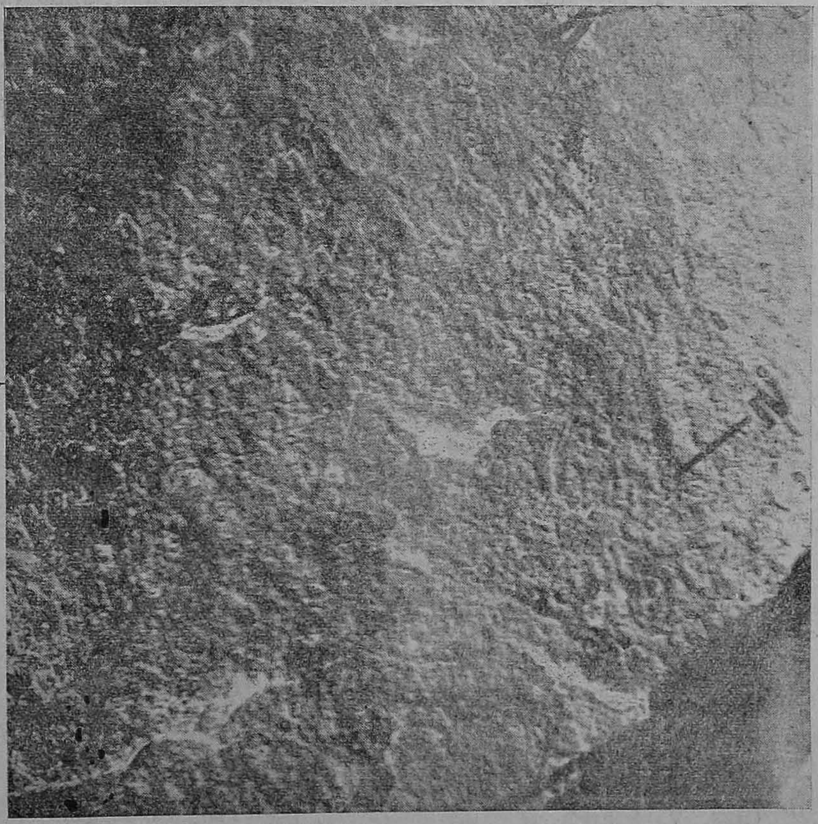


FIGURE IX (Relative Positions of DN I, III & IV)

G. Fussman, who has made a special study of DN III, thinks that the script used in this inscription is not alphabetic, but syllabic. He refers to the frequency of signs displayed in this record. Each sign displays, the same scholar observes, either a group of consonants and vowels or an isolated vowel. In the groups consisting of consonants and vowels the sound of vowels is indicated by diacritical marks.[15]

These observations, however, lack proper foundation. What appears to Fussman as a "sign" of a syllabic script[16] may be a consonant letter carrying a medial vowel mark or a group of letters forming a ligature. Thus the second letter of line 1 can be easily read as Kharōshṭhī *mi* (*m*+the sign of medial *i*), and need not necessarily be interpreted as a "group of a consonant and a vowel" pertaining to a syllabic script. Similarly, the sixth character of line 1 can be recognised as a combination of Kharōshṭhī letters *pe [p(a)+e]* and *u*. Ligatures of this type are noticed frequently at least in the Greek script employed in the Bactrian inscriptions of the late Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa periods.[17]

Thus there is no special reason to consider the script as syllabic. As in the case of the Surkh-Kotal incription, we can notice in this record a number of Kharōshṭhī letters [like *saṁ, mi, ksha, ka* (?), *u* (line 1), *ne, ḍa, cha, ni* (line 2), *dhaṁ, mi, ḍa* (line 3), *sa* (?), *ge, be, te,* or *re* or *ve* (?), *be*(line 4), *ksha, dha* (line 5), *pa* (?), *śi, ña* (line 6),*ha, mi,* (line 7), *he, ho, e, nma, ga* (line 8), *lma* (?), *ka* or *spa, śi,* (line 9), etc.*]*[18] (figs. VIII and X), some Sogdian letters *[*like those conveying the sound of *b, s* (line 6), *z* (?), *n* (line 7, etc.*]*[19] (figs. VIII and X), and perhaps also a few Greek letters *[*like *phi* in conjunction with Kharōshṭhī *ma* in lines 1, 7 and 9, and *iota* (?) in lines 3, 4, etc.*]*[20] (figs. VIII and X).

Similar traits can be noticed in another epigraph at Dasht-e Nāwur, (DN V), which is inscribed on the left of and perpendicularly to the record no. DN III[21] (figs. III and IV). Inscribed material pertaining to or bearing this script has been discoverd also at Khalchayan in the Ḍenau region of South Uzbekistan.[22]

The above data suggest that the records concerned are inscribed in a sort of hybrid script which was used to be written from right to left. This script included Kharōshṭhī, Sogdian and perhaps a few Greek letters.[23] Sometimes conjuncts were formed of letters originating from two different alphabets. For example we can refer to the combination of Greek *phi* and Kharōshṭhī *ma* (see above). Medial vowel signs were used. We do not know whether the two horizonal strokes attached to the lower portion of the vertical line of the Kharōshṭhī letter *pa* in line 8 of DN III convey the sound of *ū*, and thereby indicate the use of the signs for denoting long vowels as in the Kharōshṭhī script employed in *inter alia* the Shan-shan area (of china) in the 3rd-4th century A.D.[24] We must, however, admit that the character concerned may be taken as a conjunct letter, combining Kharōshṭhī *pa* and *tha.*

We have noted above that inscription no. DN III starts with the letter *sa(ṁ)* (the year). It is followed by four letters and then by a word which can be deciphered as *Kapeu.* If *Kapeu* is considered to stand for *Gapeu* <*Gapiu* = *Gorpiai(os)*,

mentioned in the portions containing dates in DN I and DN IV,[25] the three characters preceding the name of the month may refer, as in DN I and DN IV, to the year concerned [200 (+) 70 (+) 9 ?]. The letter between the first of these three characters and the first letter (*saṁ*) of the inscription is *mi*. So the word *sa(ṁ) mi*, and not merely *saṁ*, appears in the beginning of line 1. *Saṁmi* may stand for *saṁvatsaraṁmi* meaning "in the year".

If this interpretation is acceptable, we may consider the language concerned as a form of Prakrit or substantially the same. At least we cannot brush aside such a possibility. Unfortunately it is not possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to elaborate this point any further.

The Dasht-e Nāwur inscriptions are to be dated, as indicated above, to the Kushāṇa period. We may, therefore, assume that the script concerned was in use in *inter alia* the Kushāṇa age.

The findspots of the inscriptions make an interesting case for study. The Dasht-e Nāwur records are found in an area where the Kharōshṭhī script was predominant and the Greek script (as employed in Bactrian inscriptions) was known in the Kushāṇa period.[26] One of the documents in question has been unearthed at Surkh-Kotal which was included in ancient Bactria and where the Greek script was used for Bactrian inscriptions in the Kushāṇa period. Khalchayan which has also yielded relevant epigraphic material, is in a locality which would have been once in ancient Sogdiana and could have been familiar with the use of the Sogdian script.

The script concerned appears to have been used in the lands of ancient Sogdiana, Bactria and Arachosia (and/or the territory of the Paropomisadae). We may believe that this hybrid was developed as a vehicle of communication acceptable to peoples of all these areas.

All the above inferences are obviously very much tentative in nature and are subject to nullification or modification with more revealing discoveries and research. Nevertheless, they are sufficient enough to establish that the documents discussed in this paper are very important to the students of oriental epigraphy.[27]

Notes :

1. A. Maricq, *Journal Asiatique*, 1958. Vol. CCXVI, p. 417 ; B. N. Mukherjee, *Central and South Asian Documents on the Old Śaka Era*, p. 111 ; G. Fussman, *Bulletin de l'ecole Francaise d'extreme-Orient*, 1974, Vol. LXI, pp. 22 ff . etc.
2. *JA.*, 1958, Vol. CCXLVI, p. 417, no. 7.
3. *Ibid.*, pl. IV.
4. See above, n. 2.
5. B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*,p. 111.
6. *BEFEO.*, 1974, Vol. LXI. p. 23.

7. For early forms of Sogdian letters, see D. Diringer, *The Alphabet*, (reprint, 1953), p. 305, fig. 141; *Problemy Vostokovedeniya*, 1960. no. 2, p. 153; 1959, no. 6, p. 129; K. Hoffmann *et al.*, *Handbuch Duer Orientalistik*, Vol. IV, *Iranistik*, pt. I, *Linguistik*, p. 26 etc. See also *JA.*, 1911, Vol. XVII, pp. 81 ff; H. Reichelt, *Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, Vol. II, pll. I and II etc.
8. *XXIX International Congress of Orientalists, Abstracts of Papers*, p. 2; B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105, *BEFEO.*, 1974, Vol. LXI, pp. 22 ff.
9. *BEFEO.*, 1974, Vol. LXI, pp. 8, 19, and 22; pll. XIII and XXIII.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 18, pl. XV.
11. *Ibid*, p. 18, pll. III and XV. The word *Koshano* is clearly inscribed in the beginning of line 4 (see *ibid.*, pl. XV).
12. *Ibid.*, p. 22, pll. V and XXIV.
13. *Ibid.*, pll V and XXVII. The name deciphered by Fussman as *Vhama* should be read as *Vhima.* A vertical stroke, which should be taken as the sign for medial *i*, cuts across the upper right horizontal line of the letter *vh* (see *ibid.*, pll. XXIII, XXIV and XXVII).
14. *Ibid.*, pl. V.
15. *ibid.*, p. 23.
16. *Ibid.*
17. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy*, pl. V, no. 1; H. Humbach, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmaler*; Vol. II, pll. 16, 17, 22, etc. We occasionally come across ligatures in the Greek script used in the early Kushāṇa documents (H. Humbach, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pl. 17; *NC*, 1892, pl. XX, no. 14, etc.)
18. *BEFEO.*, 1974, vol. LXI, pll. V and XXVII.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*; See also below, n. 23.
21. *Ibid*, p. 19 and pll. IV and XXIII.
22. Pugachenkova, *Kalchayan*, Tashkent, 1966, p. 59, fig. 35; *BEFEO*, 1974,, Vol. LXI, pp. 23 and 27.
23. We must, however, admit that there are many other characters in DN III which cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge.
24. D. Diringer, *op cit.*, p. 303, fig. 140.
25. *BEFEO.*, 1970, Vol. LXI, pp. 18 and 22.
26. Dasht-e Nāwur is not very far from Wardak, in which area a Kharōshṭhī inscription of the time of Kushāṇa king Huvishka was found long ago.
27. Eye-copies and other reproductions of the inscriptions in question, accompanying this article, are taken from G. Fussman's article published in *BEFEO.*

5. INSCRIPTIONS OF THE DURJAYAS: A STUDY

C. Somasundara Rao

Not much is known of the Durjayas who ruled in Āndhra between the Vishṇukuṇḍins and the Eastern Chāḷukyas. An attempt is made here to discuss some of the issues in the study of their inscriptions. The rule of the Durjayas is evidenced by two grants: (1) Tāṇḍivāḍa grant of Pṛithivī-mahārāja dated in his 46th regnal year[1] and (2) Gollāvallī grant of Pṛithivī-mahārāja dated in his 49th regnal year.[2]

These two grants record gifts by one and the same ruler, Pṛithivī-mahārāja of the Rāma-Kāśyapa-gōtra, who is described as the son of Vikramēndra and the grandson of Raṇadurjaya. There is no royal epithet for Vikramēndra, while Pṛithivī-mahārāja has it in his name itself; and Raṇadurjaya was given the title *mahārāja*. There is no information in the inscriptions themselves as to the achievements of these kings. Only Pṛithivī-mahārāja was credited with the conquest of the feudatories.

The extent of territory under the Durjayas can be fixed with the help of the two inscriptions. From the issue of the Tāṇḍivāḍa grant from Pishṭapura, it can be believed that it was the capital of the Durjayas. The reference to Virajā in the Gollāvallī grant as the place of issue would indicate the expansion of the kingdom for a time to include Kalinga. Could Virajā be identical with Urjām in the Narasannapeta taluk of the Srikakulam district? The local tradition at Urjām is that it was the former Virajā. The Durjayas could have come into conflict with the Eastern Gaṅgas, and this place is in the Kalinga region ruled by the Gaṅgas. If it is identified with Jajpur in the Cuttak district, as is done by the editor of the Gollāvallī grant, we will be taking the Durjaya conquest to a farther place. In general, the Vishṇukuṇḍins or the Eastern Chāḷukyas came into clashes with the Eastern Gaṅgas. So it is possible to locate the town nearer to the Kaliṅga region, without questioning the antiquity of Jajpur.

The conquest of the region near Virajā does not seem to have added anything to the area of the rule of Pṛithivī-mahārāja. This is known from the village gifted by the king. The gift-village Gollāvallī, though not identified so far, can be taken to be Gollavilli in the Amalapuram taluk of the East Godavari district. There are, however, places with slightly similar names like Gālavilli and Gollapalle in the Bobbili taluk, and Gollavalasa in the Narasannapeta taluk of the Srikakulam district. But it is not possible to identify the gift-village with any of these because we do not come across the district known as Kudrāvatī or Kuddhāvatī in these areas. This district may, however, be equated with Guddavādi-vishaya of the Vishṇukuṇḍin[3] and Eastern Chāḷukya grants.[4] As this *vishaya* corresponded roughly to the Ramachandrapuram and Amalapuram taluks of the East Godavari district, there may not be any objection to this conclusion.

The Tāṇḍivāḍa grant records the gift of the village Koṇḍamañchi in the Pāguṇāra-vishaya. The village is identical with Komḍamamchi in the Narsapur taluk of the West Godavari district. Pāguṇāra-

vishaya corresponds to the Narsapur, Tanuku and Bhimavaram taluks of the West Godavari district.

From the above identification, it can be said that Pṛithivī-mahārāja, and possibly his predecesors, ruled from Pishṭapura. Pṛithivī-mahārāja's sway extended over the East and West Godavari districts.

We have now to ascertain the date of the rule of Durjayas. Except the fact that they ruled Āndhra between the Vishṇukuṇḍins and the Eastern Chāḷukyas, nothing definite is known. M. Ramarao assigns the independent rule of Pṛithivī-mahārāja to 566-615 A. D.[5]; N. Venkataramanayya to 594 A. D.[6] The latter view ignores the point that we should give either a 49-year or a 3-year independent rule to Pṛithivī-mahārāja but not any period in between. The former view is untenable in view of the lack of evidence for the independent rule of Pṛithivī-mahārāja throughout.

We must consider the first two kings known from Pṛithivī-mahārāja's grants to be subordinates of Vishṇukuṇḍins. Vikramēndra, the son of Raṇadurjaya could have been named after Vishṇukuṇḍin Vikramēndravarman I or II. As the latter was more powerful than the former, Raṇadurjaya could have served Vikramēndravarman II, and must have named his child after his master. If so, Raṇadurjaya and Vikramēndravarman II should have been contemporaries for some time. The latter's date is certainly 555-69 A. D. In the same way, Vikramēndra of the Durjaya family should have been a contemporary of Gōvindavarman of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family who might have ruled in 569-73 A. D., on the assumption that the Vishṇukuṇḍin rule continued after 569 A. D. also. Pṛithivī-mahārāja, the last of the Durjaya family should have been a contemporary of Mādhavavarman who ruled between 573 A. D. and 621 A. D.

Tentatively the dates of the rule of the Durjayas may be given as follows :

Raṇadurjaya : 555-66 A. D.
|
Vikramēndra : 565-75 A. D.
|
Pṛithivī-mahārāja : 575-624 or 631 A. D. at the latest.

I am aware that the Vishṇukuṇḍin chronology is itself controversial; and to draw the Durjaya chronology on the basis of the Vishṇukuṇḍin chronology may not be approved. But the dated Tummalagūḍem set of Vikramēndra II's time shows that Vikramēndra's reign ended in 569 A. D. (11th regnal year of the king equivalent to Śaka 488 = 566 A. D.) ; and the period from 569 A. D. to 624 A. D is to be filled up.

It is not possible to fill the gap from 569 A. D. to 624 A. D. with the independent rule of the Durjayas. Though Pṛithivī-mahārāja's grants yield 46th and 49th regnal years, there is no indication that he was independent for all the 49 years. For, his achievement prior to the 46th year is unknown. Hence, he may be taken to be an independent ruler by the time he issued those two grants, during his 46th and 49th regnal years and to have mentioned these years which may be his total years of rule including his subordination.

In that case, the Vishṇukuṇḍins can be taken to have ruled in the period after 569 A. D., while the Durjayas continued their rule as subordinates near Pishṭapura. This must have been the

situation when Pulakēśin II attacked the Āndhra region. He fought two engagements-one at Pishṭapura and the other at Kuṇāla. It is likely that the Chalukya defeated Durjaya Pṛithivī-mahārāja at Pishṭapura and the last Mādhavavarman of the Vishṇukuṇḍins at Kuṇāla. This took place in 617-18 A. D., according to the Māruṭūru grant of Pulakēśin dated in his 8th regnal year.[7] As the foundation of the Eastern Chāḷukya dynasty took place in 624 A. D., it is likely that no administrative measure for the occupied territory was taken earlier. So Mādhavavarman and Pṛithivī-mahārāja could have continued to rule their own areas as king and subordinate respectively. This relationship could have come to an end with the death of Mādhavavarman, someime in 621 A. D. (48th year of the Polamūru plates when a lunar eclipse occurred in the Phālguna month).[8] Then Pṛithivī-mahārāja might have risen to an independent position and issued his own records. The years 46 and 49 might correspond to 621 A. D. and 624 A. D. Or his records could have been issued after 621 and before 631 A. D., the date of the Koppāram plates,[9] when Vishṇuvardhana obtained the Vēṅgī region from his brother. This also explains how it was Vishṇuvardhana alone that was credited with the seizure of the Vēṅgī region from the Durjayas, as recorded in some of the grants of the Eastern Chāḷukyas.[10]

Pṛithivī-mahārāja was a patron of Vēdic as well as Purāṇic studies. The donees of the inscriptions were highly learned. Padma-śarman, the donee of the Gollāvallī grant was described as a scholar in Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas, Purāṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa and other scriptures. Bhava-śarman, the donee of the Tāṇḍivāḍa grant, studied Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas, Nyāya, Upanishads and Yōga and was a writer of 20 commentaries and one who studied *Tri-Sahasra* or 3,000 sciences. His father also was learned in the last-mentioned subject. This reference to the number appears in a few records of Āndhra in the time of Jayasiṁha-vallabha I. His Peda Maddāli[11] and Ādivāsa grants[12] describe the donees as *aśīti-tārkakas* and *tri-sahasra-pāragas*. The Māruṭūru plates of Pulakēśin II refer to the donees as *aśīti-tārkaka, gṛihīta-sāhasra*. So it is possible that most of these numbers refer to the branches of logic then studied. But these numbers do not find occurrence from 8th century A. D. onwards.

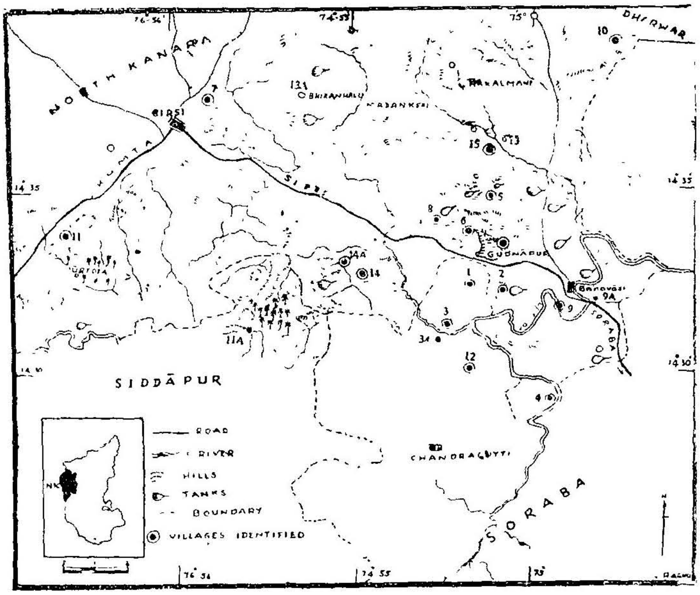
Notes:

1. N. Venkataramanayya, *Pallavulu-Chāḷukyulu* (Telugu; Madras, 1969), pp. 114-23; *Ep. Ind*, XXIII, pp. 95-96.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, pp. 221 ff.
3. *J.D.L.*, XI, pp. 59-61; *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, pp. 336-37.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 254.
5. M. Ramarao, *Studies in the Early History of Andhradesa* (Madras, 1971), p. 134.
6. N. Venkataramanayya, *Vishṇukuṇḍinulu* (Telugu; Hyderabad, 1973), pp. 19-20.
7. N. Ramesan, *Copper-plate inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Vol. I (Hyderabad, 1962), pp. 36-39.
8. *J.D.L.*, XI, pp. 59-61.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, pp. 257 ff.
10. N. Venkataramanayya, *Eastern Chāḷukyas of Vēṅgī*, (Madras, 1950), p. 18; *JAHRS.*, XI, p. 85.
11. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 137.
12. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 129 ff.

6. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA IN GUDNAPUR INSCRIPTION

H. R. Raghunath Bhat

The discovery of Guḍṇāpur inscription of Kadamba Ravivarman[1] marks an important landmark in Indian Epigraphy in general and Karnataka Epigraphy in particular. It is really significant in several respects. The pillar inscription throws new light on the ancestors of Kadamba Mayūraśarman by giving the names of his father Bandhushēṇa and grandfather Vīraśarman. It refers, probably for the first time, to Kāmajinālaya built by Ravi-mahārāja. The lithic record also sheds welcome light on the toponymy which has not been taken up for study so far.[2] An attempt is made here to identify all the geographical place-names occurring in this inscription.



(MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF IDENTIFIED VILLAGES)

1. Guḍṇāpur (line 17): It is a small village situated at an approximate North Latitude of 14°. 32' and East Longitude 75°. Lying on the eastern frontier of the North Kanara district, Guḍṇāpur is 5 kms to the north-west of Banavāsi, to the right side of the Banavāsi-Sirsi road. The big tank, it is in fact one of the biggest tanks in the North Kanara district, came to be excavated probably during the period of Ravivarman, for it is mentioned in the present inscription as Guḍḍa-taṭāka. The name of the village, according to B. R. Gopal, is derived from Guḍḍa-taṭāka, the big tank at the very entrance of the village. Added to this the very name of Guḍḍa-taṭāka

appears to have been coined so because of the presence of the *guḍḍas* (hills) by the side of the *taṭāka* (tank). Thus the village or *pura* close to the hill is so called by virtue of the mountain and tank in its vicinity.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that Guḍṇāpur has assumed religious importance too. Every year a big fair called *Baṅgār-ēśvara-jātre* along with a cattle fair is being celebrated at Guḍṇāpur. It is held for two days after Śivarātri (February), when the spring season (*vasant-ōtsava*) will just commence. (It does remind us of the *vasant-ōtsava* described in the inscription). The epigraphic record, from line 17 onwards, gives us a detailed account of the several land-grants in different villages made by the king for the maintenance and perpetual worship of Kāmajinālaya. Though it is not possible, at present, to locate the several gift lands like *Abhinava-kshētra*, *Brahmachāri-kshētra*, *Purāṇa-kshētra*, etc., the villages in which these lands are situated can be identified:

2. Iḍiūra (line 17) is easily identified with modern Iḍūru, a small village situated 2.5 kms to the south-west of Guḍṇāpur. Having 1246 acres of fertile and cultivable land (*Brahmachāri-kshētra*?) Iḍūru is now in the Chandragutti hobli of Soraba taluk (Shimoga district), lying in the extreme northern corner of the taluk (and just 0. 8 kms to the south of North Kanara district border).

3. Kāntārāryyapā[ṭi] (line 17) can be identified with Kantrāji, a village 2. 2 kms to the south of Guḍṇāpur (pop. 414: 1971). Another inscription of the 10th century A. D. found at Maṅgalūru (Soraba taluk) mentions it as Kantarōje[3]. According to *this inscription when* Chaṭṭigadēva *was* ruling over Banavāsi-12000, Kantarōje (Kantrāji) was one of the 24 *agrahāras.*

4. Kallaṅgōḍa (line 17) is identified with Kalagōḍu. But there are two villages by name Hirē-kalagōḍu and Chikkalagōḍu in the proximity of Guḍṇāpur. However, Kallaṅgōḍa of the inscription is to be identified with the modern Hirē-kalagōḍu (pop. 96: 1971) which is nearer to Guḍṇāpur (only 5 kms to the south-west of Guḍṇāpur) than Chikkalagōḍu (pop. 178: 1971), a village situated at a distance of 7.2 kms south-west of Guḍṇāpur. It may also be presumed that during the reign period of Kadamba Ravivarman these two villages, Hirēkalagōḍu and Chikkalagōḍu, were combined together and jointly called Kallaṅgōḍa-grāma.

5. Mōgūru (line 17) may probably be identified with modern Mugvaḷḷi, a village situated to the south-east of Guḍṇāpur at a distance of about 9 kms in the extreme southern corner of the North Kanara district (pop. 487: 1971).

Ūru and *palli* or *haḷḷi* are two words very often applied to the names of places in Karṇāṭaka. In fact a majority of the place-names end with *ūru* or *haḷḷi* or *kēri*, which often interchange. Mōgūru of the inscription has probably become Mugvaḷḷi at present.

6. Mahāveṅguli (line 18) can be identified with Doḍḍa-beṅgali, a big village 2.4 kms to the north-west of Guḍṇāpur (pop. 948: 1971). Curiously enough the suffix *doḍḍa* or *mahā* is now dropped and only Beṅgaḷi or Beṅgaḷe remains as the name of the village.

7. Dahrakaveṅguli (line 19) may be identified with Chikka-beṅgaḷi, or Chikka-

bengli, a small village 1.6 kms to the north-west of Guḍṇāpur. In fact the whole village along with its cultivable land is situated on the north-west bund of the tank.

8. Esaḷā (line 19) is to be identified with modern Yasaḷe, a small village about 17 kms to the north-west of Guḍṇāpur and 1.6 kms to the north-east of Sirsi, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name. In the vicinity of this village flows a rivulet by name Yasaḷe-hoḷe.

9. Navanadi (line 19) does not probably mean nine rivers or new river ; it may refer to a village now called Navanagēri or Navaṅgere, 3. 2 kms to the north-west of Guḍṇāpur (pop. 222: 1971). At a distance of 0.8 km to the south-west of this village runs the highway (*Mahāpatha* of the inscription ?) which leads to Guḍṇāpur and Banavāsi. There is also a big tank (*bṛihat-taṭāka*) on the bund of which lie bushes of *kētaki* or *kēdage* (*kētaki-prasravaṇa*). I am also told by the local people that in the past the tank was full of local lotuses.

10. Sattūra (line 20) may possibly be identified with modern Santoḷḷi in the Banavāsi circle. It is only 12 kms to the north-east of Guḍṇāpur (pop. 287: 1971). Sattūra may have become Santoḷḷi in due course.

11. Aṁbilakuṇḍi (line 21) is apparently identified with Amblihoṇḍa, a small village about 22 kms to the west-north-west of Guḍṇāpur. There is also another village by name Ambavaḷḷi, about 15 kms to the south-west of Guḍṇāpur and nearby this village lie a peaked hill and a tank. As per the description in the inscription, to the south-east of this village lies the border of Kammakūra-grāma.

12. Kammakūra (line 22) is easily identified with the modern Kamarūru, a big village, 6.6 kms to the south of Guḍṇāpur (pop. 670: 1971). It is now in the Chandragutti hobli of Soraba taluk (Shimoga district). The village Kamarūru is also referred to in another inscription of the 12th century A. D. found at Naḍaḷḷi (Soraba taluk).[4]

13. Vanavāsaka (line 23) is very easily identified with Vanavāsi or Banavāsi, also called Vaijayanti, the well-known capital city of the Kadambas. It is situated to the south-east of Guḍṇāpur at a distance of 5 kms (lat. 14° 33′, long. 75°.5′). It is a place of considerable antiquity and referred to in the *Mahāvaṁśa*,[5] Ptolemy's map of India[6] and Alberuni's *India* (Banavās).[7]

Though the portion on the octogonal shaft of the pillar is damaged and rather abruptly ended, it can be read provisionally. It refers to three villages, viz., Mukuṇḍi, Hāki[ni]palli and Kallī[li].

14. Mukuṇḍi (line 26) may be identified with modern Marguṇḍi, a small village about 5 kms to the north-north-west of Guḍṇāpur.

15. Hāki(ni)palli (line 26): As the reading of the place-name is doubtful, the identification of the same has also become difficult now. However, this may be provisionally identified with Hakkalgēri or Hakkaligēri, a small village situated at a distance of about 9.5 kms to the west of Guḍṇāpur. As per the description in the inscription there was a Kāmadēvālaya in the village in the 5th century A. D. But it cannot be located now. However, there is a mound in the

vicinity of the village which is described by the local people as *Jainara kaṭṭe*[8] (the mound of the Jainas).

16. Kallī[li] (line 26) is very easily identified with Kalli or Kalle, a small village 7.5 kms to the west-south-east of Guḍṇā-pur, in the Banavāsi circle (pop 182: 1971). Interestingly enough there is a Jaina pillar inscription on which are carved four images of Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras*. According to local tradition the whole area was a seat of the Jains in the past.[9]

All these places and place-names survive even to this day, of course with slight modification, because of the influence of oral tradition.

Notes:

1. The inscription was discovered by Dr. B. R. Gopal and Dr. A. Sundara with the help of the late M. R. Anavatti, and Syts. D. R. Bhat, M. C. Wodeyar and L. T. Sharma in March 1971.
2. B. R. Gopal has identified only seven place-names. With regard to other places he says: "It has not been possible for me to identify the other places".
3. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 465 (968 A.D.), line 18.
4. *Ibid.*, Sb. 54 (c. 1154 A.D.), line 4.
5. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, p. 273.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 329.
7. Edward C. Sachau, Alberuni's India, Bombay, 1964, p. 202.
8. The mound and its name are significant and the mound deserves excavation.
9. I am thankful to Prof. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Sri N. R. Bhat and his sons for their valuable suggestions in this regard.

7. THE MALHARA PLATES OF ADITYARAJA : A Re-appraisal

Ajay Mitra Shastri

In the Annual of the Vidarbha Research Society (*Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*), Nagpur, for 1974 (pp. 139-144 and plates), V. P. Rode published his reading of and a note on the writing of two sides of a copper-plate brought to the Central Museum, Nagpur, for decipherment in April, 1974. He rightly concluded that the inscription recorded a land-grant made in favour of certain Brāhmaṇas by a till then unknown king named Ādityarāja. But, as the other plates of the charter were missing, nothing more could be known about Ādityarāja and the history of the dynasty to which he belonged. With his usual persistence V. V. Mirashi pursued the matter and succeeded in tracing the remaining plates of the record which he published first in Marāṭhī in the *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika* for 1975 (pp. 1-17 and plates) and later in English in the *Journal of Indian History*, LIV, pp. 1-13 and plates. In regard to certain important points we find it difficult to concede the historical interpretaion of the record proposed by Mirashi, and as the inscription has great bearing on the early history of Vidarbha, it is proposed in the present paper to examine his arguments and arrive at what appears to be the correct interpretation in the present state of insufficient knowledge.

The charter, which hails from Malhara in Achalpur Tahsil, Amraoti District, Maharashtra, is recorded on a set of five copper-plates, measuring 17.6 cms long and 9.7 cms high. The first and the last plates are engraved only on the inner side and the other plates on both sides. The plates were held together by a circular ring passing through a round hole cut about the middle of the left margin. The seal, to which the ends of the ring must have been soldered, is lost. The writing belongs to the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet similar to that found in the Vākāṭaka, Śarabhapurīya, Pāṇḍavavaṁśī and a few other records; and the language is Sanskrit except only the concluding line giving the date which is in Prakrit. The text is composed partly in verse. The draft is in an elegant style such as one meets with in classical Sanskrit literature and the language is almost correct grammatically.

The charter, issued from Vānakhēṭa,[1] aims at registering the grant by king Ādityarāja of a few villages[2] comprised in the division (*bhōga*) of Aṅkishṭā in favour of certain Brāhmaṇas[3] for the increase of the religious merit and fame of his parents as well as himself. It is dated the 15th day[4] of the second fortnight of the summer season in the second year of the reign of Ādityarāja.

The introductory portion of the record, in mixed prose and verse, furnishes valuable information about the family to which Ādityarāja belonged. The first member of the dynasty mentioned in our inscrip-

tion is Sōma who was a devout devotee of *Bhagavat*, i.e. Vishṇu (*parama-bhāgavata*), belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and felt delighted in the study of the four Vēdas. It is stated in a stanza (verse 1) that he was not puffed up even though he studied with a single mouth the four Vēdas which Brahmā recited with his four mouths. He was followed by his son Vardhana who is extolled vaguely for his steadfastness in the observance of the *yamas* and *niyamas*, learning, hospitality and austerities (verse 2). His son was Muṇḍa who did not accept gifts from others (*a-pratigrāhaka*). He kept himself always engaged in the observance of vows and performance of sacrifices wherein, we are told, fell from heaven showers of wealth which were sent forth by the gratified god Vāsava, i.e., Indra (verse 3). He augmented the reputation of his family by his great, meritorious deeds and his name was borne by his descendants, i.e., the family came to be known as Muṇḍa (verse 4).[5] His son was Rāshṭra-mahārāja who, it is averred, had earned the title (*śabda*) of king (*rājan*) by his own qualities. He was followed by his son, Rājakula-mahārāja, who is represented to have destroyed his enemies in battles (verse 5). He was succeeded by king Ādityarāja, the donor of the present grant, who is described only in general terms and is compared to the epic heroes Rāma, Ambarīsha and Sagara (verse 6). The grant is said to have been made by him with the permission of one Yajñarāja about whom no other information is afforded.

It would follow from the foregoing brief survey of the contents of the inscription that the family in question belonged to the Brāhmaṇa lineage and the first two members are reported to have observed all the traditional duties prescribed for the Brāhmaṇas. Muṇḍa, the third member, was the first to give up one of the duties of a Brāhmaṇa, i.e., accepting gifts from others. But even he contented himself with the performance of the other traditional duties laid down for the Brāhmaṇas and there is nothing to indicate that he had any pretensions to regal power. Of course, he certainly appears to have been more illustrious than his two predecessors. The first member of the family to assume royal power was indeed his son Rāshṭra-mahārāja who is represented to have *acquired* the title of king. The first mention of battle is found in connection with his successor, Rājakula-mahārāja.[6]

Some indication of the power and influence in contemporary politics wielded by this dynasty, which has for the first time been brought to light by the record under review, is provided by the statement, in the beginning of the inscription, that the *Muṇḍa-putras* (*i.e., descendants of Muṇḍa* or the members of the Muṇḍa dynasty) performed the Aśvamēdha sacrifice. Unfortunately, it is not clearly stated as to who exactly performed the sacrifice. But it could not have been Ādityarāja who had begun his regal career only a short while ago. Moreover, had it been his feat, the court poet would surely not have been slow to pounce upon this opportunity to extol his patron. It could have been performed either by Rāshṭra-mahārāja, who was the first to assume regal power or his successor Rājakula-mahārāja who had some military successes to his credit and might have thought of performing the Aśvamēdha as a fitting celebration of his victories in wars. The case of this family was similar to that of the other Brāhmaṇa ruling families like the

Śuṅgas, the Kāṇvas and, nearer home, the Vākāṭakas, and probably the Sātavāhanas as well.

That the dynasty of the Muṇḍa-putras ruled in Vidarbha admits of no doubt. Not only is their only known record found in Vidarbha, but no member of this family is known to have been mentioned in a record found in any other region. Secondly, *rāja*-ending names appear to have been popular in the ruling families of Vidarbha as vouched for by the evidence of inscriptions and intaglios.[8] The record under reference has thus brought to light an hitherto unknown ruling family with its sway over the Vidarbha area.

Unfortunately, the inscription is not dated in any well-known reckoning and mentions only the regnal year of the issuer, Ādityarāja. The date of the record as well as the flourishing period of the ruling family brought to notice by it has, therefore, to be determined on the basis of such other evidence as may be afforded by this and some other epigraphs. And as this evidence, is of somewhat indefinite nature, divergent views have been expressed on this point. While publishing the fourth plate of this charter, which was then the only known plate, V. P. Rode drew attention to the obvious similarity between the characters of this inscription and those of the Nagardhan plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa chief Svāmirāja, date K. 322 (= 573 A. D.)[9] and accordingly proposed to place it in the 6th century A. D.[10] In his comments on Rode's note Mirashi also commended this view.[11] But while editing the complete record Mirashi abandoned this view and suggested for this inscription a date about the middle of the 3rd century A. D. during the post-Sātavāhana and pre-Vākāṭaka perod.[12] His arguments in favour of this date may be summarised as follows:—

(i) The Muṇḍa-putras are described as performers of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice; but the Aśvamēdha had gone out of vogue shortly after the Vākāṭaka period.

(ii) In view of known historical facts there was no room for the Muṇḍas in the Vidarbha region even for short time between 500 and 650 A. D.

(iii) As the practice of mentioning season dates of the type found in this record went out of use after about 400 A. D.,[13] this inscription cannot be placed after the Vākāṭaka period;[14] and during the Vākāṭaka period there is absolutely no place for the Muṇḍa-putras.

(iv) While the whole of the record is in Sanskrit, the date in the last line is given in Prakrit. The Bashim plates of Vindhyaśakti II[15] dated in the 37th year of his reign (about the close of the 4th century A. D.), furnish the latest example of the employment of Prakrit in the epigraphic records of Vidarbha. The use of Prakrit for the date proves that 'it belongs to a period anterior to 400 A. D. at the latest.'

(v) And as the Muṇḍa-putras could not have ruled during the period of Vākāṭaka supremacy over Vidarbha, they can be placed only in the transitional phase between the end of the Sātavāhanas and the rise of the Vākāṭakas viz., 230-75 A. D.

Accordingly Mirashi believes that the Muṇḍa dynasty must have come to power shortly after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas about 230 A. D. that Ādityarāja ascended the throne in *circa* 270 A. D. and that the grant in question was given away some-

time prior to 275 A. D. about which time Vindhyaśakti I established his sway over Vidarbha.

A close examination of these arguments will, however, reveal that they are not very weighty and fail to carry conviction. Let us now proceed to examine them one by one.

It is true that the Muṇḍa dynasty is styled *Aśvamēdha-yājin* (performer of an Aśvamēdha or Aśvamēdhas). But in our opinion it has no bearing on the question of the flourishing period of this family. There is sufficient evidence to show that the performance of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice continued to enjoy popularity with and was deemed a befitting culmination of their political aspirations by the ruling chiefs in India at least upto the sixth century A. D. The Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (*circa* 414-55 A. D.) appears to have performed at least one Aśvamēdha as would follow from his Aśvamēdha type gold coins.[16] The Vishṇukuṇḍin ruler Mādhavavarman I, who flourished early in the sixth century A. D., claims to have performed as many as eleven Aśvamēdhas.[17] The Bādāmi rock inscription of the Chalukya king Pulakēśin I, dated Śaka 465 (= 543 A. D.), credits him with the performance of the Aśvamēdha and other sacrifices.[18] The famous astrologer-astronomer Varāhamihira, who is traditionally believed to have lived up to Śaka 509 (= 587 A. D.), speaks of the performance of the Aśvamēdha as the greatest ambition of an enterprising king.[19] There are instances of the performance of the Aśvamēdha even after the sixth century A. D. According to an unconfirmed tradition recorded by Colonel Todd, the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachchandra performed an Aśvamēdha sacrifice.[20] In comparatively recent aimes Sawai Jaysingh of Amber (1699-1744 A. D.), who was a contemporary of the Mughal emperors Farrukhsiyar (1712-19 A. D.) and Muhammad Shah (1719-48 A. D.), is also reported to have performed a horse sacrifice.[21] In view of these facts there is no reason for astonishment if a Muṇḍa chief performed an Aśvamēdha sacrifice even if he flourished in the post-Vākāṭaka period. Thus on the ground of the performance of the Aśvamēdha the rule of the Muṇḍa-putras need not be placed in the period between the Vākāṭakas and the Sātavāhanas.

There is also no difficulty in accommodating the Muṇḍa-putra rule in the post-Vākāṭaka period. The Vākāṭaka rule came to an end about 500 A. D. The story narrated in the Viśruta-charita of the *Daśa-kumāra-charita* of Daṇḍin is still not beyond the realm of unsubstantiated legends and as such not much importance can be attached to it in historical considerations. The end of the Vākāṭakas appears to have been followed by anarchical conditions in the Vidarbha region. Taking advantage of this situation the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I established his rule over a large part of Maharashtra including Vidarbha. The Vishṇukuṇḍin occupation of Vidarbha appears to be indicated by numismatic evidence as was first pointed out by the present writer.[21] But the Vishṇukuṇḍin rule does not appear to have lasted long and it came to an end shortly after Mādhavavarman's rule in the second quarter of the sixth century A. D.[22] Thereafter we find the Kalachuri feudatory Svāmirāja ruling from Nandivardhana in the Kalachuri year 322 (=573 A. D.).[23] Then again there is a long gap in our knowledge of the political vicissitudes of this

region. In case Vidarbha is regarded as one of the three Mahārāshṭras over which Pulakēśin II claims overlordship, Vidarbha region came under the Chalukyas of Bādāmi sometime before 634 A. D., the date of the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakēśin II which makes this claim.[24] There is thus a long gap between the rule of the Vishṇukuṇḍins and the Kalachuri feudatory Svāmirāja and between the only known date (573 A. D.) of the latter and that of the possible Chalukya occupation of Vidarbha wherein the rule of the Muṇḍa dynasty may be placed conveniently.

The employment of season date also has no bearing on the question of the date of the record under consideration. When Mirashi wrote on this charter originally, only two genuine Vākāṭaka records were known to contain season dates. These inscriptions are the Washim plates of Vindhyaśakti II[25] and the Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II.[26] But, within a couple of months thereafter, two more, and, what is more important, later, Vākāṭaka grants containing season dates came to light. They are the two copper-plate charters of Pṛithivīshēṇa II, the grandson of Pravarasēna II, which were found in course of excavations at Māṇḍhal, some 75 kms from Nagpur in the Umred Tahsil of the Nagpur District.[27] And now we know of a copper plate inscription of Harishēṇa, the last-known member of the Washim branch of the Vākāṭakas, which also bears a season date. The rule of Harishēṇa, it is commonly believed, came to an end about 500 A. D. And if season dates are known to have been in use upto the end of the 5th century A. D., there will be nothing surprising if such manner of giving dates was adopted in a record issued a few years later.

The employment of Prakrit for indicating the date in this inscription, which is otherwise in Sanskrit, is also of no consequence in deciding the question at stake. The statement that the Washim grant of Vindhyaśakti II is the latest epigraphic record of Vidarbha in which Prakrit is employed is begging the question. If the Malhārā plates of Ādityarāja are placed in the 6th century A. D., the same statement could be made with reference to this inscription. It must also be pointed out that the date portion of one of the above-mentioned Māṇḍhal plates of Pṛithivīshēṇa II, the last known member of the main line of the Vākāṭakas, whose reign ended towards the close of the fifth century A. D., also shows influence of Prakrit although the remainder of the record is in Sanskrit. This Prakritism in connection with the mention of the date could have continued for a few years in the 6th century A. D.

Another point deserves to be noticed in this context. If the process of the replacement of Prakrit by Sanskrit in epigraphical records is taken as a criterion for determining relative chronology, the Malhārā plates will have to be placed after, not before, the Washim plates. For, in the Washim plates the entire grant portion is in Prakrit while in the Malhārā plates Prakritism is confined to the date. As pointed out above, the same is the case with the aforesaid Māṇḍhal plates which are also much later than the Washim plates. Thus the season date and the use of Prakrit for mentioning the date need not force us to place the Malhārā plates in the pre-Vākāṭaka period.

The last argument need not claim much space as it has already been shown that there is no insurmountable difficulty in

placing the Muṇḍa-putra dynasy in the post Vākāṭaka period.

Mirashi seems to regard the size of the plates used for incising records also as a criterion of relative chronology. He rightly points out that with the passage of time the size and thickness of the plates of copper-plate grants went on increasing. Basing on this consideration, he argues that the plates of the Malhārā grant are slightly smaller and thinner than those of the Vākāṭaka charters and, as such, the former must be anterior to the latter.[28] However, the statistical figures[29] given by him in support of this argument violate against this suggestion. Thus, while the Malhārā plates are 7″ broad and 3.4″ high, the breadth of the Washim plates is only only 6.1″, while the height is the same. Likewise the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, though earlier than the Siwani plates of her son Pravarasēna II, are larger than the latter. The Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja, dated 573 A. D., are smaller than the Poona and Siwani plates which we have just mentioned. And the Multai plates of Nannarāja, dated 709 A. D., are less in height than the earlier Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja. It would thus be seen that, while the gradual increase in size and thickness of plates with the passage of time is a matter of common knowledge, it must not be stretched beyond proportions to yield chronological results. Otherwise, as we have just shown, the Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II and the Multai plates of Nannarāja will have to be regarded as earlier than the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā and the Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja respecively. And even if we were to accept this point for the sake of argument in the present case, the Malhārā plates will have to be taken as later than the Washim plates of Vindhyaśakti II.

It will be obvious from the foregoing discussion that there is absolutely no evidence to force upon us the belief that the Muṇḍaputras ruled in the pre-Vākāṭaka period. On the other hand there are serious obstacles in accepting this date.

To judge from the extant records, the practice of inscribing land-grants on plates of copper became popular about the middle of the fourth century A. D. in South India and a little later in the northern part of the country.[29] The oldest copper-plate charters of common type known so far are the well-known Mayidavōlu[30] and Hirahaḍagaḷḷi[31] plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman which have been ssigned to the middle of the fourth century A. D. As for Vidarbha, the ealiest extant copper-plate inscription is the Washim grant of Vindhyaśakti II, assignable to c. 390 A. D. If the practice of recording land-grants on copper-plates had already become popular about the middle of the third century A. D., as would follow if the Malhārā plates are asigned to this date, the total absence of copper-plate charters in the Vidarbha area for over 125 years will have to be explained.

As stated above, the Malhārā plates are composed in grammatically chaste Sanskrit with the exception of only the date portion which is in Prakrit. Although a few earlier sporadic records composed in Sanskrit are known,[32] it was only about the end of the 4th century A. D. that Prakrit was finally replaced by Sanskrit as the epigraphical language in South India.[33] An important stage in the process of the supplantation of Prakrit by Sanskrit is represented by the Mayidavōlu and Hirahaḍagaḷḷi plates

which are primarily written in Prakrit but at the same time contain a few portions in Sanskrit. It will follow from this that the Malhārā plates, wherein Prakritism is confined only to the date portion, cannot be dated before the end of the 4th century A. D. Then again, the introductory portion giving the genealogy of the Muṇḍa-putras is composed in an admixture of prose and verse, technically known as *champū*, which reminds one of the famous Prayāga *praśasti* of Samudragupta and points to a date not much earlier than *c.* 400 A. D.

In the preamble of this charter we get a detailed account of as many as five generations preceding Ādityarāja who made the grant. It affords a rather hyperbolic description of the academic attainments and military exploits of the predecessors of Ādityarāja. The study of the evolution of the draft of the copper-plate inscriptions reveals that the practice of giving a detailed account of the history and genealogy of the family of the donor came into vogue at a comparatively late date[34] and such elaborate narratives are not met with prior to about the middle of the 5th century A. D. It thus follows that our record cannot be dated much earlier than this period.

The Malhārā grant, as noted earlier, is engraved in box-headed characters. Inscriptions written in these characters come from Ēraṇ-Vidiśā in Madhya Pradesh in the north to the Mysore region in the south and belong to the Imperial Guptas, the Vākāṭakas, the kings of Śarabhapura, the Pāṇḍavavaṁśins of South Kōsala and the Kadambas. Chronologically speaking, they range from the 4th to the 7th century A. D.,[35] the earliest record to use this script being the Ēraṇ stone inscription of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta[36] which is assignable to about the middle of the 4th century A. D. And the variety with hollow 'boxes' on the tops of the *aksharas* employed in this inscription is for the first time met with in the Washim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, generally assigned to the last decade of 4th century A. D. This being so, the Malhārā plates cannot be placed anterior to *c.* 400 A.D.

Reference should also be made in this connection to the government officers to whom the royal order, in respect of the grant, is addressed. These include, *inter alia*, *Uparika*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Daṇḍapāśika* and *Dūtaprēshaṇika*. None of these officials is mentioned in any pre-Gupta inscription. The *Kumārāmātya* is, for the first time, referred to in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.[37] The earliest mention of the *Uparika* is met with in the Dāmōdarpūr copper-plate charters of Kumāragupta I.[38] One of the oldest references to the *Dāṇḍapāśika* is found in some of the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhī[39] and the Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja.[40] The *Dūtaprēshaṇika* is first referred to in Svāmirāja's Nagardhan plates.[41] It must be pointed out in this connection that none of these official designations is mentioned in any of the numerous Vākāṭaka records. We may, therefore, conclude reasonably that the Malhārā grant cannot be older than the end of the 4th century A. D.

The employment of the expression *pādānudhyāta* (meditating upon the feet of) to express the relationship of the son to the father, found in connection with all the descendants of Sōma, the first known member of the family, is also a pointer in the direction of a late date for the Malhārā plates.[42]

The upshot of the above discussion is that the Muṇḍas cannot be placed in the pre-Vākāṭaka period.[43] And from about the close of the 3rd century to the end of the 5th century A. D. the Vākāṭakas were supreme in Vidarbha and the adjoining area and there was no room for any other ruling family which had attained great power and prestige to warrant the performance of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice. They could have flourished only in the post-Vākāṭaka age. They evidently took advantage of the anarchical conditions following the downfall of the Vākāṭakas and carved out a kingdom for themselves. As we have seen above, they can be easily accommodated in the 6th century A. D. It is pertinent to note in this context that paleographically the Malhārā plates bear very close resemblance to the Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja, dated 573 A. D. Not only this, the similarity goes further. A majority of the officers who are mentioned in connection with the king's order regarding the the land-grant in the two grants are identical[44] and the names of rulers mentioned in both the records end in *rāja*. We shall thus be fully justified in placing the Malhārā charter very close to the Nagardhan plates and the Muṇḍa-putras nearabout the period of Svāmirāja.

Mirashi suggests that the Muṇḍa-putras brought to light by the Malhārā plates are mentioned in the dynastic texts of the Purāṇas under the name Mauna.[45] It is a well-known fact that the Purāṇakāras are not aware of any ruling family flourishing during the post-Gupta age and, as such, there is no possibility of the Muṇḍa-putras being referred to in the Purāṇas.

As noted above, the grant recorded *in this inscription is stated to have been* made by Ādityarāja at the behest of Yajñarāja, (*Yajñarāj-ānujñātaḥ*). Although no in*formation is given about* Yajñarāja, it can be reasonably inferred from the name-ending *rāja* that he belonged to the same family as Ādityarāja. And the way he is reffered to shows that he was held in high esteem. But in the present state of our knowledge, he remains a shadowy figure.[46] For more information about him and the Muṇḍas we must await future discoveries.

It will be clear from the foregoing discussion that the Malhārā plates throw welcome light on the post-Vākāṭaka history of Vidarbha and help us in partially filling up the long gap (or gaps) between the end of the Vākāṭaka period and the possible occupation of Vidarbha by the Chalukya king Pulakēśin II.

TEXT

FIRST PLATE

1 *Siddham*[48] *॥ Namaḥ* = *Purushōttamāya ॥* Svasti Vānakhēṭāt
2 Parama-bhāgavatō= śvamēdha-yājinām Muṇḍa-pu-
3 trāṇām Bhāradvāja-sagōtraḥ chaturvvēd-ā-
4 nandi *Sōmaḥ ॥ Chaturbhiś= chaturō*
5 vēdān= vaktrai [r= *] *Brahmā* jagāda yān [। *] tān= *adhity-ai-*
6 ka-vaktrēṇa yō na vismayam= āgataḥ [*॥ 1 ॥* *][49]

SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE

7 Tasya putras= tat-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ svavaṅśa(vaṁśa)-
8 varddhanō Varddhaṇō(nō) nāma ॥ Yama-niyama-
9 ratatvam= āryya-vṛittiḥ śrutam= a-
10 tithi-priyatā tapasvitā cha [।*]
11 Abhavad= ati-sudushkaraṁ hi yasya

SECOND PLATE : SECOND SIDE

12 vratam= idam= āryya-matēḥ= paraṁ sad= aiva ॥ [2 ॥*][60]
13 Tasya putras= tat-pād-ānuddyhātaḥ aprati-
14 grāhakō Muṇḍaḥ ॥ Pratigrah-ādigdha-
15 karasya yasya । nitya-vratasy= āpi hi
16 dīkshitasya । yajñē Vasōr= Vvāsava-tushṭa(shṭi)-muktā
17 papāta dhārā tridivād= analpā ॥ [3 ॥*][61]

THIRD PLATE : FIRST SIDE

18 Chihnaṁ lōka-viśēsha-śaṁsi sumahat- sakarmma[62]-labdh-āspa-
19 daṁ । ślāghyaṁ ratnam= iva prajā- bahumataṁ vaṅśa(vaṁśa)-prati-
20 shṭhākaram [।*] yasy-ādy= āpi vahanti nāma kulajā dikshu
21 prakāśaṁ guṇaiḥ śrīvatsam bhujagā iv= ōnnata-
22 phaṇāḥ prōnnāmitair= mūrddhabhiḥ ॥ [4 ॥*][63] Tasya putraḥ(tra)-
23 s= tat-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ sva-guṇ-ōpārjjita-rāja-
24 śabdaḥ Śrīrāshṭra-mahārājaḥ [।*] Tasya putraḥ

THIRD PLATE : SECOND SIDE

25 tat-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ Śrīrājakula-mahārājaḥ [॥*]
26 Yēna kunt-ānala-jvālē ।[54] vair-āraṇi-samudbhavē ।
27 yaśō-malāny = amitrāṇāṁ hutāny = āyūṁshi
28 saṁyugē ॥ [5 ॥*][55] Tasy-ātmajaṅ-kanaka-paṅkaja-
29 rāśi-gauraḥ kāntyā śaś = īva jagatō nayan-ābhi-
30 rāmaḥ [।*] Rām-Ambarīsha-Sagara-pratima-prabhāvaḥ ।[54]
31 Ādityarāja iti viśruta-nāmadhēya[ḥ ॥ 6 ॥*][56] Yajña-[rā]j-ānujñā[taḥ]

FOURTH PLATE : FIRST SIDE

32 sa Ādityarājaṅ-kuśalī ॥ Aṅkishṭhā-bhōga-vāsinaḥ
33 sam-upāgatān-uparika-kumārāmātya-daṇḍapāśika-
34 chāṭa-bhaṭa-kāshṭhī(shṭhi)ka-dūtaprēshaṇika-viniyuktak-ā-
35 dīn saṁbōdhayaty = astu va[ḥ*] saṁviditam
36 Bhāradvāja-sagōtrāya Mātulasvāminē
37 Bhaṭṭasvāmy-Agnisvāmi-Dityasvāmi-Drōṇasvāmi-

FOURTH PLATE : SECOND SIDE

38 Nannasvāmi-Śū(Sū)ryyasvāmi-Kāliśarmma-prabhṛi-
39 tibhyaś = cha brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ Mahāgrāmaḥ Chikkhalli-

40 kā-dvayam ॥ Āmrakagarttikā Lauhaśa-
41 lākā । Chiñchapallikā । Niggoṇḍijjhāram ।
42 Daharakapaṭattā ॥ A(Ā)mrakavāṭaka ॥ Śiṅśa(Śiṁśa)-
43 pādikā । Bujjāṭakañ = ch =ēti ॥ mātāpitrō[ḥ]

FIFTH PLATE

44 ātmanaś = cha puṇya-yaśō =bhivṛiddhayē। udaka-pūrvvē-
45 ṇa grāmā dattāḥ ॥ Bahubhir = vvasudhā bhuktā ।[54]
46 rājabhis =Sagar-ādibhiḥ[।*] Yasya yasya yadā
47 bhūmis = ṭasya tasya tadā phalam ॥ [7॥*][57] Shashṭi-
48 varsha-sahasrāṇi ।[54] svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [।*]
49 Āchchhētā(ttā) ch = ānumantā cha tāny = ēva narakē vasē[t*] ॥ [8 ॥*][58]
50 Savva 2 gimha pa 2 diva 10 5 ॥

Notes:

1. According to Mirashi, the absence of an expression like *vāsakāt* or *sthānāt* after Vānakhēṭa indicates that the latter was Ādityarāja's capital. *Vide VSMV*., 1975, p. 13 and *JIH*, LIV, p. 10.

2. To wit, Mahāgrāma, two villages named Chikkhallikā (probably one larger and the other small), Āmragarttikā, Lauhaśalākā, Chiñchapallikā, Niggoṇḍijjhāra, Daharakapaṭattā, Āmravāṭaka, Śiṁśapādika and Bujjāṭaka. [The correct reading of the text in lines 39-40 is *mahā-grāmaḥ Chikkhallik-āhvayam* (and not *Chikkhallikā-dvayam* as read by Mm. Mirashi) in which *mahā-grāma* qualifies the 'great village' 'called' (*āhvayam*) Chikkhallikā. Mm. Mirashi is, therefore, not right in considering *mahā-grāma* to be the name of a village and in believing that two Chikkhallikas are mentioned in the Malhārā Charter.—K. V. Ramesh].

3. Mātulasvāmin of Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, Bhaṭṭasvāmin, Agnisvāmin, Dityasvāmin, Nannasvāmin, Sūryasvāmin, Kāliśarman and others. [The first name is actually engraved as Mātṛilasvāmin. Cf. *tṛi* of Mātṛila with the *tu* of *chaturbhiḥ* in line 3 of the text.— K. V. Ramesh].

4. Mirashi rightly observes that the figure for 5 is peculiar and is not met with in any other record but that it cannot stand for any other figure. *Vide VSMV*., 1975, p. 4; *JIH*., LIV, p. 3, fn. 5.

5. In the beginning of the inscription the dynasty is referred to as Muṇḍa-putra in genitive plural which is analogous to *Vākāṭakānām* met with in the Vākāṭaka records. As pointed out by Mirashi (*VSMV*., 1975, p. 5, fn. 6; *JIH*., LIV, p. 3, fn. 3), *putra* here stands for 'descendant'. Cf. *Pōshapuria-putra* where *putra* has probably to be taken in the sense of 'original inhabitant'. (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inss*., p. 155, fn. 5).

6. The names Rāshṭramahārāja and Rājakulamahārāja are strange and unique in that the word *mahārāja* is not commonly known to have formed part of personal names. It is not unlikely that these were in the nature of nicknames or titles rather than personal names. These strange names may also indicate that we have to seek the origin of the Muṇḍa-putras among the aboriginal people and the name Muṇḍa, which is not quite common, may perhaps hint at the aboriginal stock to which they originally belonged. After they were culturally Aryanised they naturally showed great zeal in the observance of the Vedic sacrificial ritual and deliberately adopted highly ostentatious and Sanskritised names. But to arrive at any definite conclusion in this regard we must wait for more dependable evidence.

7. Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja (*CII.*, IV, pp. 615 ff.) and Tiwarkhed (*Ep. Ind.*, XI, pp. 276 ff.), Multai (*Ind. Ant.*, XXIII, pp. 230 ff.) and Akola (*AREP.*, 1949-50) plates of Nannarāja.
8. *JNSI.*, XXVI, pp. 77-79, Pl. 1.6.
9. *CII.*, IV, pp. 615-16; *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, pp. 8-10.
10. *VSMV.*, 1974, p. 141.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
12. *Ibid.*, 1975, pp. 11-12; *JIH.*, LIV, pp. 8-9.
13. *JIH.*, LIV, pp. 6-7. But in *VSMV*, p. 9, fn. 19, reference is made to the use of season date in a recently discovered copper-plate charter of Harishēṇa who flourished about the close of the fifth century A. D. and accordingly it is averred that season dates went out of vogue after about 500 A. D.
14. VSMV., 1975, p. 9; *JIH.*, LIV, pp. 6-7.
15. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 137 ff.; *CII.*, V, pp. 96-98.
16. *BMC. GD.*, pp. lxxxix, 68-69, pl. XII. 13-14.
17. D. C. Sircar, *The Succ. of the Sāta. in the Deccan*, p. 336, text-line 12 (Polamūru plates of Mādhavavarman I). This event is mentioned in some other records also.
18. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, p. 8, text-line 2.
19. *Bṛihad-yātrā*, 1. 2; *also* see my *India as seen in the Bṛihatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, p. 171.
20. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (second edition, Madras, 1873), p. 339. For a criticism of this tradition, see D. C. Sircar, *Succ. of the Sāta. in the Deccan*, pp. 350 ff.
21. Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 328 ff. It finds mention in some Sanskrit texts also. For these references, see P.K. Gode in *JIH.*, XV, pp. 364 ff; *Poona Orientalist* II, pp. 166 ff. *Mīmāṁsā Prakāśa*, II, pp. 43 ff.

21a *JNSI.*, XXVII, pp. 164 ff.; *VIJ.*, XI, pp. 99 ff.

22 No record of any of the successors of Mādhavavarman I has been reported from any part of Maharashtra.

23. The Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja were issued in this year. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, pp. 8-10; *CII.*, IV, pp. 615-16.
24. *Ep. Ind*, VI, pp. 1 ff.
25. *CII.*, V, p. 98, text-lines 28-29.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 46, text-line 28. The Pāṇḍhurṇā plates of Pravarasēna II (*Ibid.*, pp. 65-67) contain two dates, the first of which is a season date (text-lines 27-28 and 30-31). But these plates are probably spurious. See *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
27. Māṇḍhal excavations have yielded important remains of the Vākāṭaka-Gupta period including some unique, beautiful Brahmanical sculptures and brick-built structures. One of the grants of Pṛthivīshēṇa II is dated 12th day of the 7th fortnight of the summer season in the 2nd regnal year while the other grant was made on the 1st day of the 1st fortnight of the summer season in the 10th regnal year.
28. *VSMV.*, 1975, p. 3; *JIH.*, LIV, p. 2.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 2, fn. 2; *VSMV.*, 1975, p. 3, fn. 3.
30. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inss.*, pp. 457 ff.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 461 ff.

32. *Eg.* the Junagadh rock inscription of Rudradāman I, some Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions of the time of Ikshvāku Ehuvula Śāntamūla, etc.

33. This is best illustrated by the Pallava and Śālaṅkāyana records which are composed in Prakrit in the 4th century A. D. and in Sanskrit afterwards. See D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 43 ff.

34. *Vide ibid.*, pp. 130 ff.

35. G. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, pp. 83 ff.; G. H. Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipimālā*, pp. 82-84, pls. xli-xliii; Fleet, *CII.*, pp. 18-9.

36. *Ibid.*, pl. II A.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 10, text-line 32. Later it is found mentioned in many other Gupta records. *Vide Select Inss.*, p. 290, text lines 6-7; p. 291, text line 4; p. 293, text line 3; p. 343, text line 17, etc.

38. *Select Inss.*, p. 291, text line 3; p. 293, text line 2; p. 333, text line 2; p. 336, text line 2; p. 343, text line 16, etc.

39. Maliya plates of Mahārāja Dharasēna, dated 571-72 A. D. (*CII.*, III, p. 165, test line 20.)

40. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 615, text-line 3.

41. *Ibid.*, In this inscription the designation is mentioned in the form *Dūtasaṁprēshaṇika.*

42. This expression is not used with reference to this relationship in any Vākāṭaka inscription. It is used in this manner in some Gupta records. See *Select Inss.*, pp. 289-90, text lines 1-2; p 321, text line 5; p. 330, text lines 4 ff; pp. 339 and 340.

43. It may also be pointed out that really speaking there is not much gap between the end of the Sātavāhana and the beginning of the Vākāṭaka rule. The Sātavāhana rule closed about 230 A. D. and the first Vākāṭaka king Vindhyaśakti came to power in 250 A. D. It is difficult to accommodate the Muṇḍa-putras within these few years.

44. They are *Uparika, Daṇḍapāśika, Chāṭa, Bhaṭa* and *Dūtasaṁprēshaṇika* or *Dūtaprēshaṇika.*

45. *VSMV,* 1975, pp. 12-13; *JIH.*, LIV, pp, 9-10. For Maunas, see F. E. Pargiter, *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 48, fn. 77.

46. Mirashi takes the expression *Yajñarāj-ānujñātaḥ* in the sense that 'the grant recorded here was made in connection with a sacrifice' (*JIH.*, LIV, p. 5), for which there is no evidence.

47. Copied from *VSMV*, 1975, pp. 14-17.

48. Expressed by a symbol.

49. Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

50. Metre : *Pushpitāgrā.*

51. Metre : *Upajāti.*

52. Read : *Sat-karmma.*

53. Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍitā.*

54. This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

55. Metre : *Anushṭubh*

56. Metre : *Vasantatilakā.*

57. Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

58. Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

8. BOUNDARY STONES : A Study

C. T. M. Kotraiah

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people of this country from the earliest days of history. Perhaps the cultivable land available in those days was more in proportion to the then population, as indicated by various sources like inscriptions, copper-plate grants, accounts of foreigners, etc. This induced the rulers and the people, who were greatly influenced by religion and guided by *dharma*, to give away or donate pieces of cultivable land to various bodies, institutions or individuals in order to attain merit (*mōksha* or *puṇya*) and such acts were recorded on stones and sometimes on copper plates giving details of the land so granted, etc. These actions at times led to the introduction of boundary stones demarcating the boundaries of the land so granted.

The custom of granting or donating land to individuals or institutions, which might have already been in existence from quite early times, becomes more evident from the early mediaeval times whenceforth numerous inscriptions on stones and copper plates came into existence. These records throw abundant light on this custom, giving interesting details such as the date of issue, name of the contemporary ruler, the donor, the donee or the donees, the purpose of the grant, the description of the grant, the boundaries and the details of boundary stones, if any, the conditions if any for enjoying the grant, the fine or the imprecations (curses) imposed for violating the grant, etc. As already indicated above, granting of land was done for the betterment of an individual, a group or community, an institution like temple or *maṭha*, village or kingdom and so on. And such an act was considered to be a deed of great merit which earned *mōksha* or *puṇya* for the donor or donors. All these details are generally seen in any of the inscriptions of this type which are quite numerous, and which have been published by various organisations, chief among them being the Epigraphy Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India.[1]

But some relevant to our present study are discussed here in brief. Like any other inscriptions, these also, before going into the details of the grant, generally mention the date of issue in the cyclic year. For instance, a stone inscription[2] on a rock near Kamalapuram (Hampi) is dated Śaka 1453, Khara, Chaitra śu. 15 corresponding to 1531 A. D., April 1, Saturday. Only on rare occasions they did not mention any date[3]. An inscription[4] engraved on the Nandi-stone seen in front of the Āñjanēya temple at Chiṭikinahāḷu, Bellary taluk and district does not mention the date but mentions the king Achyutarāya who, while making a gift of a village to the god Prasanna-Virūpāksha of Jentegal, issued a copper plate[5] and also this stone inscription after setting up boundary stones bearing Liṅga (*liṅga-mudrā*). In this case the date might have been mentioned in the copper plate and omitted in this stone inscription.

Similarly the name of the ruler during whose reign the grant was made and the inscription was engraved was invariably mentioned. But on some occasions, specially

when grants were made by the local people for heroes who fell in fighting etc., the name of the rulers were omitted, probably because they were of purely local importance.[6]

Grants or donations were made by all classes of people of the society. The king being the owner of all the land in the state, he made grants frequently and arranged at times the setting up of boundary stones.[7] Here it should be noted that grants by the rulers were made without interfering with the proprietorship of the individuals or institutions, even though the whole land of the state belonged to him according to the *dharma*[8]. Following the examples of their masters and the spirit of the days, their subordinate officers like ministers, commanders, viceroys etc. quite frequently showed equal zeal in making such grants.[9] Sometimes the king ordered his subordinates to make such donations. One Rāyapaṇṇayya gifted a village Kariya-haḷḷi to god Saumya-Sōmēśvara of Sōmalā-pura under the orders of king Prauḍhadēva-mahārāya of Vijayanagara.[10] An officer, Honnappa-nāyaka, son of Bokkasam Dēvappanāyaka of Penugoṇḍe-chāvaḍi, made a gift of lands to the *sthānikas* of the temple of Pāṇikēśvara and while recording it on stone[11] mentioned the boundaries to the land so granted but without setting up boundary stones (1503 A. D.). At the same time it mentions one of the boundary stones with *liṅga-mudrā* which was already existing, probably set up on an earlier occasion and by some one else. Even ladies, specially of the royal house-hold, were not lagging behind[12] in this regard.

Likewise the donee happened to be an individual or individuals, institutions like temples, *maṭhas* and so on. And the grants were meant for their betterment, upkeep or carrying out certain social obligations like free feeding, free education, etc., the detailed study of which is not the subject of this paper.

It is imperative that whenever a grant or donation is made and the same is recorded, the object so granted is to be described with all possible details. Especially when a piece of land is given, it will have to be described in clear terms because of its very nature that it can easily be encroached, violated or its boundary shifted. *Smṛitis* of Manu, Yājña-valkya and others prescribe the use of existing things like wells, tanks, trees, temples, mounds, rivers, etc. as boundaries of villages and so on. Kauṭilya also in his *Arthaśāstra* states[13] that the 'boundaries shall be denoted by a river, a mountain, forests, bulbous plants, caves, artificial buildings or by trees such as *Śālmali*, *Śamī*, *Ksihra-vṛiksha* etc.' A copper-plate grant[14] issued by Dēvēndravarman of Eastern Gaṅga dynasty records gifting of a village to some brāhmaṇas and mentions the following as boundaries '...ant-hill at the junction......further on a jungle or a row of trees...another jungle...... further a jungle or a row of trees' etc.

Early grants used to mention the land in simple terms, i. e., by the extent[15] of the land, by some local popular name or by its location[16] of it etc. But as time advanced, the grants came to mention the boundaries in all the four directions.[17]

Yet there might have been violations now and then which necessitated the fixing of man-made boundary stones. It may also be noted that at the same time many grants of lands, villages etc., were made without setting up the boundary stones.

Such of those which were set up by man generally contained religious marks either *Śaivite*, *Vaishṇavite* or *Jaina* so as to give religious sanctions to such arrangements. Also these marks were there to indicate that any violation of the arrangement was irreligious, against divine decree or such an act was considered as one against the *dharma* of the land. Whenever such boundary stones were set up, they were invariably mentioned in the inscriptions. An inscription[18] of 1512 A. D. issued by Immaḍi Chikkarāya Oḍeyar of the line of Ummattūr Chiefs, mentions that the king, while giving Kuntur village to god Sālūr Santadēvaru, fixed up 48 numbers of boundary stones of Śaivite marks (*liṅga-mudreya kallugaḷu*). The religious marks of these boundary stones were nothing to do with the religion of the donee. Quite often the religious marks on the boundary stones indicated the faith of the donee. For example, the inscription[19] of king Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara, a Vaishṇavite by faith, records grant of a village, Chiṭikinahāḷu to god Prasanna-Virūpāksha of Jentegal and the area was demarcated with boundary stones of Śaivite marks (*liṅga-mudreya kallanu hākisi koṭṭaru*). Sometimes inscriptions mentioning land grant and the setting up of boundary stones made references to both Śaivite and Vaishṇavite marks.[20] The copper-plate grant of T. N. Pura, issued during the reign of Kṛishṇarāja Oḍeyar, refers to the setting up of *Vāmana-mudre-kallu, Liṅga-mudre-kallu, Triśūla-mudre - kallu, Chakra- mudre - kallu, Mukkoḍe-kallu* and *Siṁha-mudre-kallu* as boundary stones.[21] This clearly shows that there was no religious rigidity in this matter.

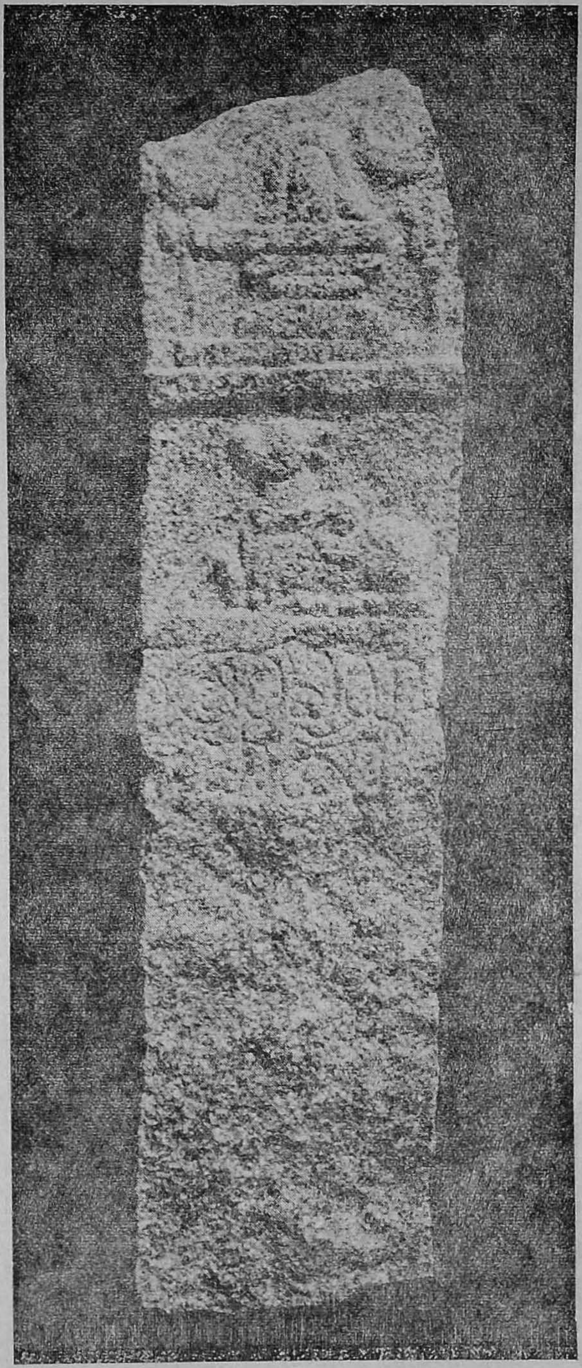
These boundary stones were known by general terms, in local dialects as *yelle-gallu*,[21] *mēre-gallu*[22], *sīme-gallu*[23] *śilā-chinhalu*,[24] *chatu-kōna-śila*,[25] *kōna-śila* (corner stone) etc., all meaning boundary stones only. In some localities they were simply known as *mudre-kallugaḷu*, by tradition. This is without reference to the religious marks on these stones. But it was just possible that even when the inscriptions refer to them in general terms, they bore religious marks either Śaivite, Vaishṇavite or otherwise and they were called in either way. A good terminology by which boundary stones were called with specific reference to the marks, is got from numerous inscriptions, as will be seen in the sequel. At times, what actually a particular term indicated, is difficult to say unless these boundary stones are found *in situ* (e.g., *trikūṭada-kallu, trisandhi-kallu dvisandhi-kallu etc.*), along with the inscriptions mentioing these stones. It is just possible that they indicated the popular ones like the *triśūlada-kallu* or *liṅga-mudreya-kallu* both of Śaivite marks.

Coming to the boundary stones with Śaivite marks one of the types was known as *tri-śūlada-kallu*[26] (stones with the marks of a trident, one of the weapons of Śiva). With some minor variations, but meaning the same, other terms have been used for similar purpose. One such in vogue was the term, *triśūlāṅkita-pāshāṇa*[27]. An inscription of Pudukottai State gives the Tamil term *tiruchchūlak-kal* meaning a boundary stone marked with a trident. Another variation of the same term was *tri-sandhi-kallu* and *tri-kūṭada-muru-kallu*. An inscription[28] dated 20th April, 1075 A. D., in the reign of Sōmēśvara II, records the granting of the village Bāḍubbeya-pāḷa and mentions natural boundaries and one *tri-kūṭada kallu*, which should be taken as a variation of the above. *Trisandhi kallu*, another variation of the same, as referred to in the inscription of

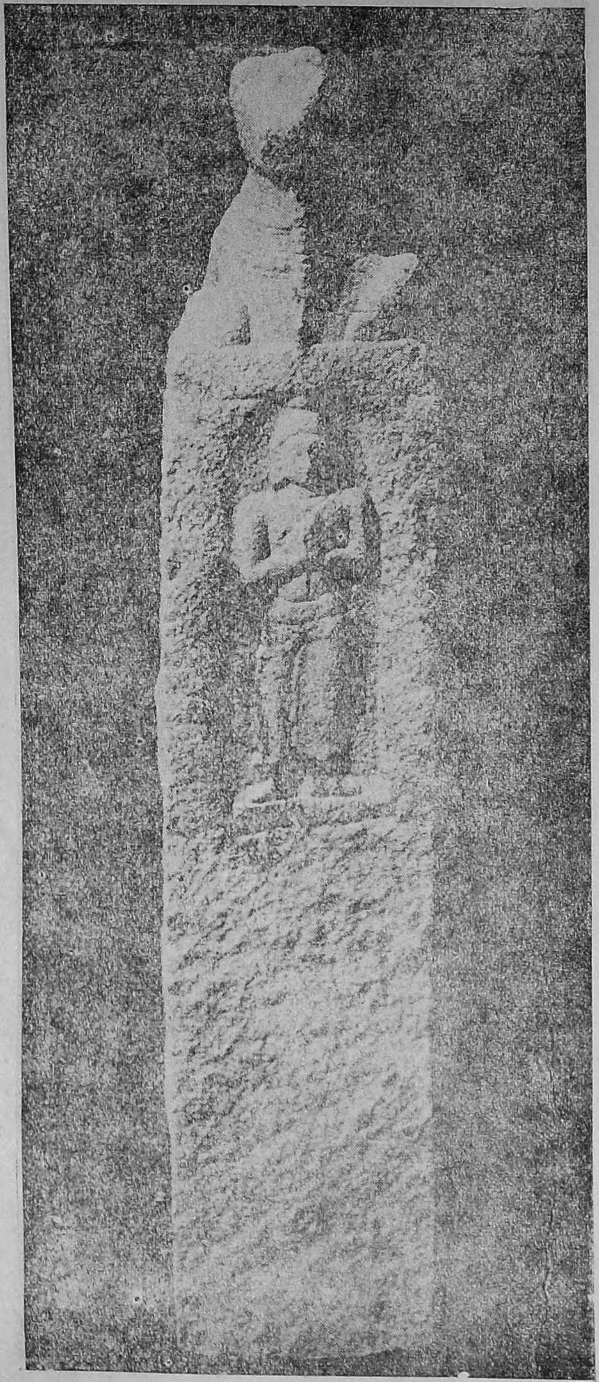
the regin of Kṛishṇadēvarāya of Vijaya-nagara, was issued in the year 1514 A. D. This inscription, while mentioning the term *tri-sandhi kallu* three times, mentions other stones as boundaries without calling them by any of the religious marks. But in the end it mentions that in total thirtyfive *liṅga-mudre* stones[29] were there, in all the eight directions of this village donated to Sōmāyidēva of Tagarapura. This supports the above presumption that the names such as *tri-śūlada kallu* etc., were synonymous with the *liṅga-mudreya* stone, which generally had the representation of, along with the other Śaivite symbols, a trident, one of the weapons of Śiva.

The next type was again of Śaivite marks, with clear indication of the same. These were variously known as *liṅga-mudreya kallu*[30], *liṅga-lañchhanada kallu*,[31] *liṅga-mudreya stambha*,[32] *liṅga-mudreya kinnari-gallu*[33] and so on. Some of this type are seen even now (some are modern), generally in fields, in the premises of old temples or *maṭhas*, etc.; of course, they appear to have been subjected to much dislocation and disturbances in course of time.

This type of boundary stone depicted generally, either on dressed up surface or on undressed rough surface, a *Śiva-liṅga* in the centre, *ḍamaru* and *triśūla*, one on either side and a couchant bull in front of the *liṅga* or below the *liṅga*. And above the *Śiva-liṅga*, the sun and moon were shown. All these figures were shown either in low-relief or in line carving (i.e. engraved). Sometimes these boundary stones contained brief inscriptions in the language and script of the locality. One of the boundary stones now in the Hampi Museum (Acc. No. 90-



(SAIVITE BOUNDARY STONE)



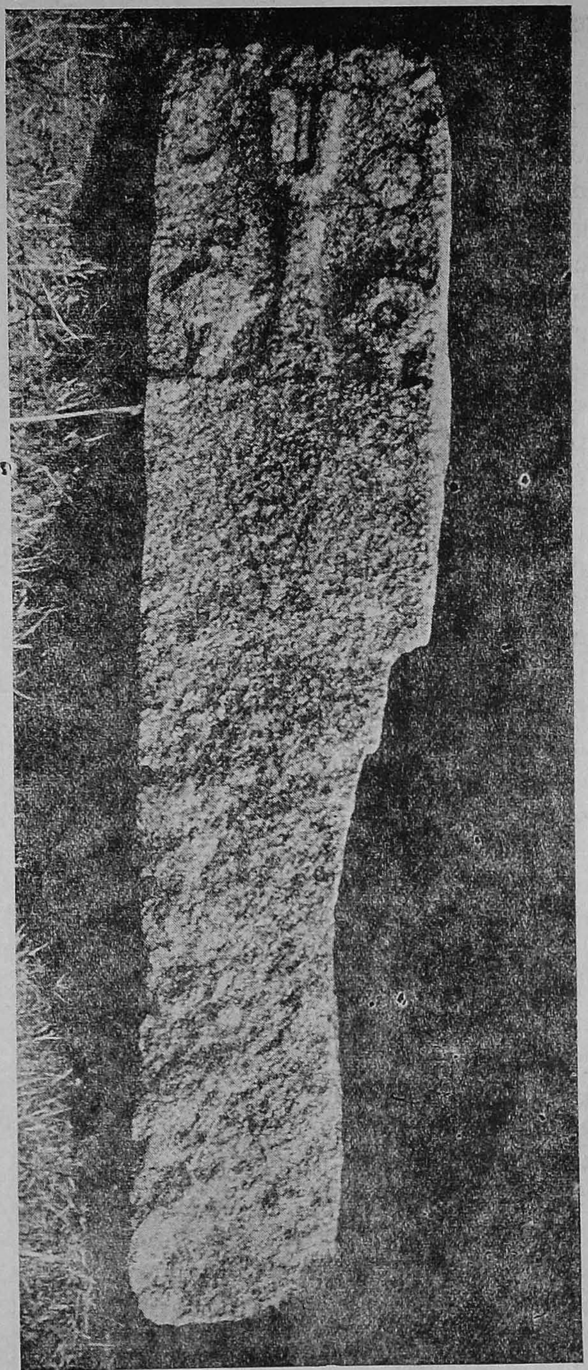
(ŚAIVITE BOUNDARY STONE)

see photograph) is not only having all the above symbols in low relief,but bears a two-line inscription in Kannaḍa characters which reads as *Śrī-Virūpāskha*. The intention was to state that the above *Śiva-liṅga* represented god Śri-Virūpāksha, the presiding deity of the main temple at Hampi (even now). Another boundary stone of the Hampi Museum collection is again a *Linga-mudreya-kallu* showing a *Śiva-linga* on pedestal on the left, the usual couchant bull on the right and sun and moon on the top. Below these is a two-line inscription reading as follows : [*Śrī*]-*Siṅgēśvarana*-[*ma*]*ṭha*, which evidently refers to a *maṭha* of Śrī-Siṅgēśvara, of course not identifiable at present.

The next type, again with Śaivite symbols, was generally a pillar type with a couchant bull carved in round on the top of it (see photograph-Acc. No. 152). This type was known as *Basavana kallu*,[34] *Basava-mudreya kallu*,[35] *Nandiya kaṁbha*,[36] *Basavana kamba*,[37] *Nandiya kallu* and so on. The Hampi Museum has in its collection three pieces of this type. Two of them (Acc. Nos. 152 and 155) are almost identical. Both of them are long rough granite pillars each with a couchant bull in round on top. Right below the bull, on the front side is shown a devotee with hands in *añjali-mudrā*. The devotee is dressed like a nobleman if not a a royal person. The devotee is carved in low-relief; this low relief is achieved by caving the surface around ; in one case (Acc. No. 152) a rough arched panel is formed around the devotee while in the other case (Acc. No. 155) the whole area is chiselled and dressed up to form the panel. No other mark or inscription is seen on them. The third one is also the same as the above with a couchant bull on the top (now damaged).

And no devotee is shown on any of the faces but there is a *Śiva-liṅga* on the right face in a caved panel. It is also possible that these pillars with couchant bulls on the tops were used around *maṭhas* and temples as some such are seen even to this day in the car-street of Hampi and in its neighbourhood.

Now we come to the boundary stones with Vaishnavite marks. The boundary stones of the first type of this group were called variously as *chakra-kambha, chakrada kallu, śaṅkha-chakrada kallu, śaṅkha-chakrada śilā nāmada kallu, tiruvali kallu,* etc. As already discussed above it is difficult to say what other marks they actually had. But as the terms indicate, the marks of Chakra, one of the weapons of Vishṇu, must have been there necessarily and possibly the other Vaishṇavite marks too, such as *śaṅkha* (conch) and *namam*.[38] An inscription (1531 A. D.) of the reign of Achyutarāya-mahārāya of Vijayanagara mentions[39] the setting up of *chakra-kallu* as boundary stones while making a grant to god Narasimhadēvaru of Kāmalāpur. A *chakra-kallu* seen in a field behind the Achyutarāya temple of Haṁpi shows a *chakra* in the centre and moon to its right, sun to its left and below is an inscription of six letters in Kannaḍa reading *Achyutapurada*. Mention of *chakra kaṁbhālu* as boundary stones is made in the inscription issued by *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kōnayadēva-mahārājulu on the 28th October, 1547 A. D, during the reign of Sadāśivarāya of Vijayanagara.[40] One other of the reign of Virūpāksha of Vijayanagara line of kings and of the year 1478 A. D. registers the setting up of *saṅkha-chakrada śilā* stone bearing the mark of conch and discus, the weapons of Vishṇu, while granting a piece of land.[41] An inscription of the time of Yādavarāya Vīranarasinga-dēvaru, gives another term, *tiruvali-kal*



(VAISHNAVITE BOUNDARY STONE)

(a Tamil term) for Vaishṇavite boundary stones similar to the above ones.[42]

The collection of the Hampi Museum is having two pieces of this type (Acc. Nos. 320 and 478). The first one is having quite prominently *chakra* on the left, *nāmam* on a low pedestal in the centre and *śaṅkha* on the right. On the top are seen the usual representations of sun and moon. Besides these, this stone has two lines of inscription in Kannaḍa which can be read as *yēkākshi-vāraya Hanuma nilisida śāsanam*[43] meaning a person by name Hanuma of *yēkākshivāru* erected this stone.

The other boundary stone of this type, now in the Hampi Museum is again a crudely cut stone pillar (see photograph-Acc. No. 478). A small area, on one of the faces, has been dressed up to some extent and while doing so, the Vaishṇavite marks are made to be seen in relief. The result is that there is *nāmam* on a high pedestal, *śaṅkha* to its right and *chakra* to its left. The usual sun and moon are also seen one either side. There is no other carving or inscription as in the other case.

The second type of this group of Vaishṇavite boundary stones was variously known as *Vāmana-mudreya kallu*, *Vāmana-pratimāṅkita* (stone), *śaṅkha-chakra Vāmana-mudre*, all these indicating the boundary stones with the representation of Vāmana, one of the incarnations of Vishṇu. Showing a representation of Vāmana on a boundary stone might have been based on the concept that Vishṇu as Vāmana took three steps to traverse the whole universe, including this earth and this act of taking three steps was for the benevolence of men and in turn to bestow the earth on men for inhabiting, for men to exist on it and so on. And Vāmana is here represented as a dwarfish *brahmachārī* mendicant with crooked limbs, fat bodied, two handed and holding an umbrella in the left hand, a *kamaṇḍala* in his right hand and tied-up *Śikhā* on the back of the head. The *yajñōpavīta* also should be seen prominently. All these features are shown on the boundary stones of this name, now available in the Hampi Museum (Acc. Nos. 88 and 89). Besides Vāmana as described above, we see the representation of sun and moon on the above boundary stones. These are there, as we are quite familiar, to convey the idea of eternity to the arrangement made with the fixing up of these boundary stones.

An inscription of the year 1431 A. D. issued during the reign of Dēvarāya of Vijayanagara, not only mentions the *Vāmana-mudreya Kallu* but also describes the locality around these boundary stones.[48] Similarly, mention is made of such boundary stones in an inscription issued during the year 1460 A. D.[49] An *agrahāra* was donated, most probably in the year 1467 A. D., and the relevant inscription states that 16 boundary stones with the representation of Vāmana were erected.[50] An inscription of the year 1419 A. D. too refers to the setting up of similar *Vāmana mudreya* boundary stones.[51] A grant made during the reign of Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagara in the year 1461 A. D., gives another term as *Śaṅkha-chakra-Vāmana-mēre-Kallū*.[52] It may be noted here that the two boundary stones of this type now in the Hampi Museum do not bear the marks of conch and discus.

The above two boundary stones of the Hampi Museum are crudely hewn, roughly rectangular in section, granite pillars with the representations of Vāmana, sun and moon

(VAMANA MUDRE KALLU)

only—all in line carving (engraving) and no relief is given to the figures. Both are almost alike except that one of them shows the figure of *Vāmana* as bent forwards (Acc. No. 88 - see photograph).

Different from the above Hindu boundary stones, we also come across another group which bears the marks sanctioned by Jainism. As already seen above, boundary stones with Jaina marks also must have been necessarily used at least when the donee happened to be a Jaina, Jaina institution and so on. Amongst this group also there appeared to have been some varieties in use, some of which are explained below. The first type was one which refers to the boundary stones in common term as set stone (*ikkida kallu*) as seen in the inscription[53] of the year 1417 A. D. while recording grants made by nine persons to the temple of Pārśvanātha at Kaikiṇi (Karwar district, Karnataka). More popular type was known as *Śri-mukkodai-kal, Mukkodai-kal, chhatra-traya-pāshāṇa*, etc.[54] As it is clear from the above names, these boundary stones must have borne the mark of 'Triple-umbrella' or three tiered parasol which was quite popular in Jaina art. What other symbols were there along with the triple umbrella, cannot be made out now, in the absence of a specimen of this type. As in the case of Hindu ones, there must have been the marks of sun and moon and at times a Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* seated below the triple-umbrella. The Bommamalai (Pudukōṭṭai, Tamil Nadu) inscription mentions donating of a village Koṛṛamaṅgalam for the maintenance of Jaina institutions and the setting up of boundary stones calling them *Śrī-mukkoḍai-kal.*[55] Another inscription of Koppal (Karnataka), though partly damaged, records granting of 10 *mattar* of land to a Jaina and mentions the term *mukkoḍeya kal* four times[56] as boundary stones. The Sanskrit version of the same inscription at the same spot calls these boundary stones by the terms *chhatra-traya-śilā* or *pāshāṇa*[57].

Next amongst the Jaina boundary stones were those bearing the figures of a pitcher, evidently meant to denote the symbol of a Jaina ascetic. These were called *kuṇḍigai-kal, kuṇḍigai* meaning 'ascetic's pitcher'.[58]

An inscription of Muḷgund[59] issued in the year 1053 A. D., during the reign of Sōmēśvara I of the Kalyāṇa Chāḷukya kings, registers a gift of land by an officer named Baladēva to a Jaina temple called *Tīrthada basadi*, and also mentions the term *Padmāvatiya-kal* (Padmāvatī's stone) which evidently was again a boundary stone. This type of boundary stone must be having the figure of Padmāvatī, a *yakshī* of the Jaina pantheon of goddesses. According to Jainism, the *yakshīs* or the *yakshiṇis* are the guardian angels. Utilising the same concept, the figures of *yakshī* like Padmāvatī might have been shown on the boundary stones in the belief that the boundaries will be protected or guarded by these *yakshis*.

Thus we see that setting up of boundary stones was prevalent amongst different sections of the society, as indicated by different religious marks on these stones meant to serve this purpose. At the same time boundary stones without the religious marks have also been referred to in several inscriptions. Whether this was accidental, intentional or due to any other reason, it is difficult to say now unless a boundary stone of this type is seen *in situ*. Most probably this appears to have been due to the urgency or exigency of the moment, because, preparation of a well-carved boun-

dary stone required some time whereas there might not have been sufficient time for this job. Students of epigraphy are quite familiar with the fact that the rulers made numerous grants even from their different camps while on march. Hence on such occasions simple stones that were easily available might have been used as boundary stones. The terminology for such simple stones, as gathered from the inscriptions, is quite varied. Terms like *naṭṭa-kallu, niḍugallu, śilā-stambhālu* etc. are met with—all meaning that they were the stones erected by man, of course in the context of boundary stones for a particular piece of land covered by the grant.

An inscription of the time of Kalyāṇa Chāḷukya Jagadēkamalla II, issued in the year 1147 A. D., while registering a grant of land to the temple of and to god Kalidēva, mentions that *naṭṭakallu* (stones set up) in all the four directions were to serve as boundary stones. Here, as already stated above, the omission of religious marks might be just unintentional and for want of time, even though the grant was for religious purpose as in earlier cases. Similarly another inscription[63] of the year 1390 A. D. states that, after renaming a village as Bhīmapura, stones were erected (*kallu nāṭṭu*) in all four corners to serve as boundary stones to that village. Another term that has been noticed is *nilu-gallu*[64] (standing stone) which also served the same purpose as the above ones and no reference is made to the religious marks. A Sanskrit term, *śilā-stambha* meaning the same as above, has also been noticed in similar context and, without saying anything regarding the marks or carvings on it, as seen in the inscription of the reign iof the Kālyāṇa Chāḷukya Sōmēśvara I, issued n the year 1049 A. D., while making a grant to god Hāṭakēśvara.[65]

Apart from the different types of boundary stones which were all created and erected by man, as seen above, we also gather from the inscriptions that, while fixing up or defining the boundaries, all sorts of natural stones that were readily available at the site have been treated and enumerated for this purpose. At times there used to be both man-made as well as natural stones to serve as boundary stones. As already discussed above this was done possibly for want of time in getting well-carved ones or even the necessity might not have been felt. An inscription seen in the temple of Vīrabhadra at Lēpākshi (Anantapur district, A.P.) registers a grant, made by the king Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara in the year 1531 A. D., of a village Chelaviṇḍla, surnamed Achyutēndrapura, and then gives a long list of natural as well as man-made boundary stones.[66] Some of them, when translated are as follows: small streamlet, single boulder, streamlet, small pebble-stones, erected stone with inscription, natural rock with inscription, inscribed stone, soap-stone rock, inscribed slab near the well, slab near the black hillock, small black stone, a boulder in the wet-land, stone near the hill, small natural rock, slab with inscription, big boulder with inscription, etc. While naming these boundaries, the directions and other details required for their identification are also given in an elaborate manner.

As already seen in the preceding para, slabs or boulders, either inscribed earlier or copies of the current issue, have also been regarded as boundary stones[67] and referred to accordingly. While donating a village called Dondvate to god Bukkēśvara-dēvaru, king Achyutarāya, in the year 1534 A. D., arranged for the setting up of boundary stones of which one of them

was an inscribed stone.[68] Here it must be noted that, as our experience shows, all the inscribed slabs, with a few exceptions, had some religious mark or other.

There are also instances when all sorts of stones, readily available on the spot were declared as boundary stones. In these we come across terms like *sunnada-kallu kuppe* (a heap of lime stones), *kavaḍeya kallu*[69] (cowri stones), etc. An inscription of the time of Jagadēkamalla and of the year 950 A. D. registers a grant made by one Tippaṇēśvara of a land measuring 30 *mattar* and after each *mattar* one *kinnari-galla guḍḍe* (heap of small stones)[70] was set up as a mark of demarcation of the land so granted. We also come across stones of different colours which were treated as boundary stones and mentioned in the inscriptions accordingly, and the terms for this type were also many. Some such terms were *naṭṭa-kariya-kallu* (set black stone), *naṭṭa-biḷiya-kallu* (set white stone), *nibbara-vannada-kallu* and so on as seen in an inscription of Harihara I of Vijayanagara[70].

While setting up boundary stones, a procedure appeared to have been in vogue. Whether this procedure was invariably followed or from what period this was followed, it is difficult to say, as most of the inscriptions are silent on this point. But it can safely be said that the procedure was followed as per the convenience and availability of time while making the grant and setting up boundary stones. The boundary stones were set up after putting *upanidhi* (some pieces of precious objects like gold, silver, pearls, precious stones etc.) in the pit dug out for fixing the boundary stone i.e. similar to the procedure that was followed at the time of the installation or consecration of a deity in any temple.

Under the orders of the king Dēvarāya in the year 1419 A. D. the *mahājanas* headed by one Hariyaṇṇa were granted a village with directions to dig a tank and to name it as Hariya-samudra and while granting so sixboundary stones of *Vāmana-mudre* were set up after putting *upanidhi*.[71]

We have already seen above the necessity for introducing the boundary stones. We have also seen that whenever grants or donations were made, religious sanctions were indicated by the various religious marks on the boundary stones set up. Inspite of that, there were violations of these boundaries. There were instances when they were restored, after enquiring into the facts by the local officers or king etc. Sometimes the violation of the arrangement of the boundaries was due to natural causes like floods washing off or disturbing the boundary stones, thereby giving room for doubt or dispute. For example, an inscription[72] in the temple of god Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam states that on account of erosion caused by the river Koḷḷiḍam into the lands belonging to the temples of Śrīraṅgam and Tiruvānaikkā, a dispute had arisen regarding boundaries. For settling this, Kulōttuṅga-chōḷa III directed his officers to examine and settle the dispute; they in their turn, and after consulting the local officers and representatives of both the temples, settled the dispute and demarcated the boundaries afresh and arranged for the setting up of boundary stones again. There was an instance when the state itself had violated the earlier arrangement

and, on an appeal, the king Rāmarāja Viṭhalaḍēvamahārāja sent his officers for examining the case. The officers, on finding that the disputed land belonged to the temple of Tiruviḍaimarudūr[73] restored it. In another case a local resident by name Tammaḍi Nāgaya of Kolahili, disagreeing with the original arrangement of the grant and the boundaries fixed thereby, removed them on one night and set up other stones at different places. This was enquired into by the local officers like *mahantu* and *nāḍu* and they declared the action of Tammaḍi Nāgaya as unjust and restored the grant and the boundary stones which had the marks of *liṅga (liṅga-mudreya kallu)*.[74]

Sometimes the violators or the culprits were punished or fined, besides the restoring of the old boundary stones. An inscription[75] of Nāgalāpuram (Chengalpet district, Tamil Nadu), issued in the year 1529 A. D. during the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya, registers that three culprits who had removed the boundary stones were made to pay fine which was to be given to the temple, the original donee. Besides this fine, restoration of the rights as incorporated in the grant was done, as was usual in such cases.

In the end, it may be noted that, even after setting up boundary stones and registering the same with all possible details in an inscription on stone or on copper plates, there must have been violations and misuses as the imprecatory parts of such inscriptions indicate. We see that with the advancement of time, the imprecatory passages or curses became more severe and even vulgar sometimes[76] prompted, no doubt, by frequent violations resulting in the gradual and virtual disappearance of the arrangements incorporated in these grants. The political instability which had set in after the fall of the Vijayanagara empire might have hastened this process and, as a result, many of those arrangements have disappeared, inspite of their having had religious sanctions and bindings. And now these boundary stones have sought entry into archaeological museums where they stand enlightening us with their past repute.

Notes :

1 Besides, since the same points have been studied, discussed and interpreted from various angles by a good number of scholars in their works on political, economic and social life of different periods, the details are not dealt with here again.

2 *SII.*, Vol. IX-2, 533.

3 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XV, HG. 142; Vol. XII, TP 108; Vol. VIII, SB 505 etc.

4 *SII.*, IX-2, No 599.

5 This particular copper-plate has not been traced so far.

6 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, pp. 99 ff.; *SII.*, Vol. IX-1, No. 3.

7 *SII.*, Vol. IX-2, Nos. 564 and 599.

8 T. V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, pp. 82 and 85.

9 *SII.*, Vol. XVI, No. 25; *Karnataka Inss.*, Vol. II, No. 26.

10 *SII.*, Vol. IX-2, No. 453.

11 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, No. 41.

12 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 61 ff.; Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 111 ff.; *Ep. carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. SB 262 etc.

13 Shama Shastry (translated by), *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* (Mysore), pp. 45 ff.

14 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 190 ff.

15 *SII.*, Vol IV, No. 245.

16 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX-2, No. 583, lines 13-14.

17 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. I, No. 39; *SII.*, Vol. XV, pp. 81 ff. etc.

18 *SII.*, Vol. IX-2, No. 701. Another inscription (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, TN. 16 (1976) of Krishṇarāja-oḍeyar mentions the setting up of more than 887 boundary stones while granting Rāmachandra-pura-agrahāra.

19 *SII.*, Vol. IX-2, No. 599.

20 *ARSIE.*, 1938-39, pp. 78 ff.

21 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, CH. 126.

22 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, NL. 31.

23 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, HN. 7.

24 *SII.*, Vol. XVI, No. 290.

25 P. B. Desai, *Jainism in South India* (1957), pp. 358 ff.

26 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XIV, HG. 142.

27 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, NL. 31; Vol. IV, CH. 64.

28 *SII.*, Vol. XI-1, No. 116.

29 *Ibid.*, pt. 2, No. 497, pp. 510 ff.

30 *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 81 and 253; Vol. IX-2, Nos. 71 and 599; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, HNP. 19; *Karnataka Inss.*, Vol. I, pp. 24 ff., and 49 ff.

31 *SII.*, Vol. XV, No. 140.

32 *Ep.*, *Carn.*, Vol. XII, TP. 108.

33 *SII.*, Vol XV, No. 220. This also refers to a natural rock with *triśūla-lāñchhana* to be treated as a boundary on the north.

34 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX-2, No. 453.

35 *Ibid.*

36 *Ep Carn.*, Vol. VIII, SB 505.

37 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, CL. 165; Vol. VIII, SB. 43.

38 As already seen above, *triśūlada kallu* indicated a boundary stone which had all the Śaivite symbols like *liṅga*, *ḍamaru*, *triśūla* and couchant bull and yet called by one of the symbols only. Similarly a Vaishṇavite boundary stone might have been known by one of the symbols only, even though there were other symbols.

39 *SII.*, Vol. IX-2, No. 503.

40 *Ibid*, Vol. XVI, No. 161.

41 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Cn. 153.

42 *TTD Epigraphical Series*, Vol. I, No. 90; *MAR.*, 1911, No. 6.

43 The characters are engraved a bit carelessly and no date is given. This may be assigned to late Vijayanagara period, i. e. about the 16th-17th centuries.

44 *Ṛig-Vēda*, VI. 49, 13 and VIII, 100, 4.

45 See Kalpana Desai, *Iconography of Vishṇu* for a detailed discussion on these features of Vāmana as envisaged in *Vishṇudharmōttara*, *Agni-purāṇa*, *Dēvatāmūrti-prakaraṇa*, *Rūpa-maṇḍana*, *Mānasōllāsa*, *Śilparatna*, etc.

46 The *Yajñōpavīta* prescribed is not clearly seen on the body of Vāmana of these two boundary stones as they are so crudely executed.

47 *SII.*, Vol. XI-1, No. 85.

48 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, SH. 71.

49 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, SC. 280.

50 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX-2, DV. 42.

51 *SII.*, Vol. IX-2, No. 440.

52 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XIV, SR. 86.

53 *Karnataka Inss* , Vol. I, No. 41.

54 *Pudukkottai Inss.*, Vol. II, No. 658; P. B. Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff.

55 *Chrono. List of Inss. of Pudukottai State* (1929), pp. 101 ff.

56 P. B. Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 358 ff., text, lines 12-15.

57 *Ibid.*, text lines 16-17.

58 *Ibid.*, fn. on p. 54; *ARSIE.*, 1939-40—1942-43, pp. 240 ff.

59 *Ep. Ind* , Vol. XVI, p. 53, text, line 33.

60 According to Jainism Padmāvatī is the *Yakshi* associated with Pārśvanātha-tīrthaṅkara.

61 Further discussion on these Jaina boundary stones is deferred as no concrete example is available in the Hampi Museum.

62 *SII.*, Vol. XV, No. 33

63 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. I, No. 39.

64 *SII.*, Vol. IX-2, No. 535.

65 *Ibid.*, pt. 1, No. 85.

66 *Ibid.*, pt. 2, Nos. 535 and 536; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V (1976), TN. 16.

67 *Ibid.*

68 *SII.*, Vol. IX-2, No. 565.

69 *Ibid.*, Vol. XI-1, No. 116.

70 *Ibid* , Vol. XV, pp. 42 and 56.

71 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX-2, No. 440.

72 *ARSIE.*, 1938-39, pp. 78 ff.

73 *SII.*, Vol. V, No. 704.

74 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, SH 115.

75 *SII.*, Vol. IX-2, No. 526.

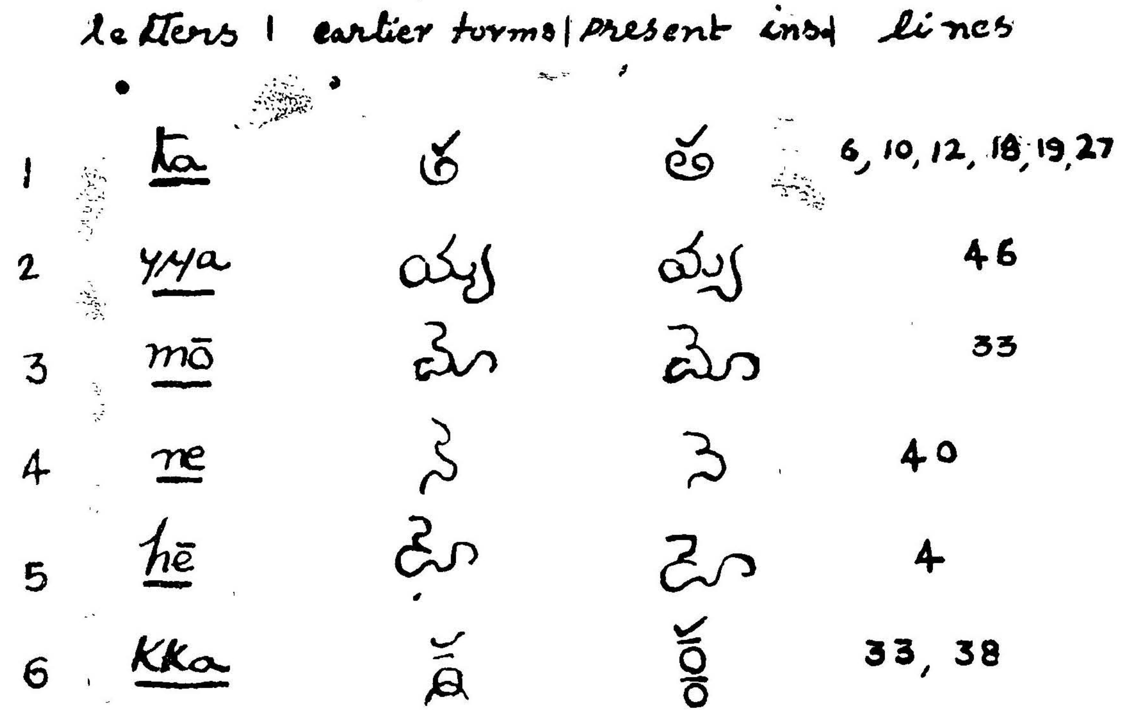
76 As this aspect is not within the scope of the present paper it is not dealt here further.

9. THE ITIKALA EPIGRAPH OF THE KAKATIYAS

P. V. P. Sastri

The subjoined inscription is incised on the four sides of a stone pillar set up before the old Śiva temple outside the village Iṭikāla, in the Gajwel taluk, Medak district of Andhra Pradesh. It is situated about 50 kms from Hyderabad on the road to Karimnagar, about 4 kms on its right side. The writing is well preserved; however, there are traces of some lines of a previous record over which the present one is engraved. The legible lines, two at the bottom of the first side and one at the top of the third side are also given in the text portion. Leaving the usual Sanskrit imprecatory verse in the end, the whole text of the record is in Telugu prose.

The purpose of the inscription is very simple. It records that two Kākatīya chiefs named Guṁḍrāju and Harihara-dēvarāju, bearing the titles *chalamarttiya-gaṇḍa* and *Manniya-veṁṭakāra*, stated to be the lords of Anumakoṁḍa and several *dēśas*, made, on the occasion of solar eclipse, a gift for the maintenance of lamps to god Sōmanāthadēva of Iṭṭukāla, of the



PALAEOGRAPHICAL CHART

income due as *sumka* and *tumu-nyāya* from all the members of the *nakara* of that village.

The inscription is dated Śaka 1061, Vibhava, Kārttika ba. 15, Thursday, on which day the solar eclipse is stated to have occurred. However, the date of the record is irregular because the given Śaka year 1061 does not tally with the cyclic year Vibhava. According to S. K. Pillai's Ephemeris Śaka 1061 is Siddhārthin; and Vibhava corresponds to Śaka 1070. In both the years no solar eclipse is noticed in the month of Kārttika.

The palaeography of the record exhibits some important features, characteristic of the late Telugu script of about the middle of the 13th century A. D. The letter *t* is invariably written with a loop on either side which decidedly is a late feature. Even in Gaṇapatidēva's record, we find it with single loop on the right side. Only in the records of Rudrama the former type with two loops, one on either side, occurs. Secondly, the subscript *y* in the conjunct letter *yya* in the word *vṛishṭayyam*, (for *vishṭayāṁ*; line 46) is written in a still later form. The letter *mō* (line 33) is also modern in form; so also *ne* (line 40).

On the basis of these palaeographic features, I like to assign the record, though it is dated in Śaka 1061, to 1268 A. D., Vibhava, during which year there was a solar eclipse in the month of Kārttika, the corresponding date being 1268 A. D., November 6, Tuesday (not Thursday).

Coming to the historical aspect of the record, we find it equally difficult to identify the two chiefs Guṁdrāju and Harihara-dēvarāju with the known members of the Kākatīya family. Four early members of the family are known to be named as Guṇḍrāju[1], but their period is too early to be considered in this context, as all of them were prior to 1000 A. D., that is, at least two generations earlier than the given date of our record. About Harihara, there is a statement in one of the Tripurāntakam inscriptions of Mailamadēvi that Rudradēva and Mahādēva had some more brothers like Harihara and Gaṇapati (not king Gaṇapatidēva).[2] Since the given date of our record, i.e. 1139 A. D., roughly falls in the reign of Prōla II, there is a possiblity to take Harihara of our record to be Prōla's son. But the language of the record indicates some revolutionary attitude on the part of the two chiefs. As already stated, it seems to be a palimpsest where some previous record is erased. Secondly, it is a joint gift by two chiefs. Thirdly, no overlord, either Chāḷukya or Kākatīya, is mentioned. In the fourth place, they claim themselves to be the sovereign kings of Anumakoṇḍa and several other territories. Lastly, the record is situated at a place far away from Anumakoṇḍa on the way to Kalyāṇa. All these points put together lead us to believe that these two chiefs might have revolted against the sovereign king of Anumakoṇḍa and with the help of the kings of the North-west, most likely the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, proclaimed themselves as independent rulers of not only Anumakoṇḍa but also all the Kākatīya territory (*Anumakoṁḍ-ādi-nānā-dēś-ādhīśvara*). Of course, we do not know whether there is any wanton purpose in dating the record with false data.

If 1268 A. D. is acceptable as the real date of the record, there was at that time much opposition to Rudramadēvi's accession. In fact the Yādava king Mahādēva invaded the Kākatīya capital and invested the fort for

several days. The Telugu chronicle *Pratāpacharitra* tells us that some princes of the Kākatīya royal family, step-brothers of Rudrama, named Hariharadēva and Murāridēva, contested for the throne by raising the standard of rebellion.[3] If there is any truth in the statement it is likely that the two chiefs of the present record, belonging to that group and seeking help of Yādava Mahādēva, started the capture of the kingdom from that corner ; Rudramadēvi, with the able assistance of the generals and ministers like the Velama chief Prasāditya and certain *mahāpradhāni* Kaṁnara-nāyaka, could suppress the rebellion and establish herself on the throne. The above deductions are according to the corrected date which in turn is based on palaeography. As an alternative, if the given Śaka year 1061 is to be accepted, the record will belong to 1139 A. D. when Prōla II is supposed to have defeated Kumāra Tailapa, the second son of Chāḷukya Tribhuvanamalla who, according to his Rāchūr epigraph, datable to 1137 A. D., asserted independence in Kandūru-nāḍu, disregarding the crowned king Jagadēkamalla II.[4] The two Kākatīya chiefs of the present record might have been the sons of Prōla II's elder brother Durgarāja from whom the former seems to have usurped power. There is reason to believe that Durgarāja's son might have revolted against Prōla II with the assistance of Kumāra Tailapa or of the Polavāsa chief Mēḍarāja. In this direction, there is a statement in an inscription at Koṭṭapalli (Nalgonda district) that Prōla was so kind that he forgave even his *bhrātṛivya* (brother's son) who sought asylum in him.[5] It is therefore likely that the two chiefs of the record under review might have been the sons of Durgarāja, who revolted against Prōla to regain their lost power and having been finally defeated, sought asylum in him.

Thus, the inscription with its irregular date gives room for two interpretations regarding the identity of the chiefs Guṇḍrāju and Hariharadēvarāju. However, with due regard to palaeography the former identification placing them in the 13th century A.D., may be accepted for the present.

The gift included items of *suṁka*, *tūmunyāya* and a contribution of one *tūmu* and *aḍḍa* of oil *per annum* on each basket carried by the oil vendors, probably all the items being levied on the members community. These were levied on the small vendors who sell oil and other articles carrying them in *gaṁpas* (baskets). *Suṁka* (Skt. *śulka*) is only too well known. *Tūmu-nyāya* seems to be toll collected in kind by measuring its capacity. A similar tax called *trāsu-nyāya*[6] occurs in some records, which is also collected in kind by weighing with the balance.

TEXT[7]

FIRST SIDE

1 Svasti [||*] Samadhigada(ta)-

2 paṁcha-maha(hā)-śabda

3 Maha(hā)maṁḍalēśva-

4 ra Parama-ma(mā)hēśva-

5 ra Anumakoṁḍ-ādi-nā-

6 nā-dēś-ādhīśvara chalamartti-

7 ya-gaṁḍa sa[ṁ]gra(grā)ma-vi-

8 jaya Maṁniya-ve-

9 ṁṭakāra-nām-ādi-sa-

10 mastā-praśasti-sahitaṁ [*।]
11 Sa(Sva)sti [।*] Śrīmanu(n) Mā
(Ma)hā-
12 maṁḍalēśvara Kāketi-
13 yya Guṁḍrāju Hariha-
14 radēvarājunu Iṭṭu-
15 kāla śrī Sōmanātha-[8]

SECOND SIDE

16 dēvaraku[9]
17 Vibhava-sa-
18 ṁvatsara Kā-
19 rttika-bahu-
20 ḷa paṁcha-dasi(śi)
21 Guruvārāna (Śa)-
22 ka-varushālu

THIRD SIDE

23 1061 agu nēṁṭi sū-
24 ryya-grahaṇa-kāla-
25 munaṁdu Iṭṭukā-
26 la nakha(ka)ramu eṁda-
27 ṟu galiginānu tala-
28 mōchi aṁmi(mē) gaṁpala
29 sukhamuṁ[10] dūmu-nā-
30 yamunu[11] akhaṁḍa-dīpā-
31 laku ichchinavāramu [।*]
32 Iṁṭan= eṁdaṟu gaṁpa-
33 lu mōchinānu okko-
34 ka gaṁpaku ēṁḍādi -
35 ki nūne tūmeṁḍunu a-
36 ḍḍeṁḍu sēsi pōyuvāru [।*]
37 Iṁtavaṭṭu ā-chaṁdrā-
38 rkkamugā naḍapu-
39 vāru [।*] evaru ā
40 nūne pōyaka tappinā-
41 nu dēva-soṁmu goṁnavāru[12] [।*]

FOURTH SIDE

42 Sva-dattaṁ(ttāṁ) para-da-
43 ttaṁ(ttāṁ) vā ō(yō) harēti(ta)
44 vasuṁdhara(rāṁ) [।*] sha-
45 shṭir =vvarusha(rsha)-sa-
46 hasra(srā)ṇi vrishṭayya-
47 ṁ[13] ja(jā)yatē krimi[ḥ॥*]

Notes:

1 *Ep. Andh.*, Vol. I, p. 84.
2 *SII.*, Vol. X, No. 254.
3 *Pratāpacharitra* (Narēndra Sāhitya Maṇḍali, Tanuku, 1969), p. 43.
4 *JAHRS.*, XXXVI, pt. I, pp. 48 ff.
5 Kottapalli epigraph (unpublished) describes Prōla II as *bhrātṛivyam-apy =avati yaś= śaraṇaṁ gataṁ svaṁ.*
6 *SII.*, Vol. X, Nos. 443 and 445.
7 From the impressions.
8 The following, which does not seem to be connected with the main epigraph, is engraved at the bottom of the 1st side (lines 1-2) and at the top of the 3rd side (line 3):
1 Brāhmala mudrāpaṇa
2 paiṁḍi dīpānak= istimi [।*]
3 lēdaṁnnavāḍki dōshaṁ [॥*]

9 At the top some lines seem to have been erased. **However**, they do not seem to be connected with the main epigraph,

10 Read *suṁkamuṁ.*

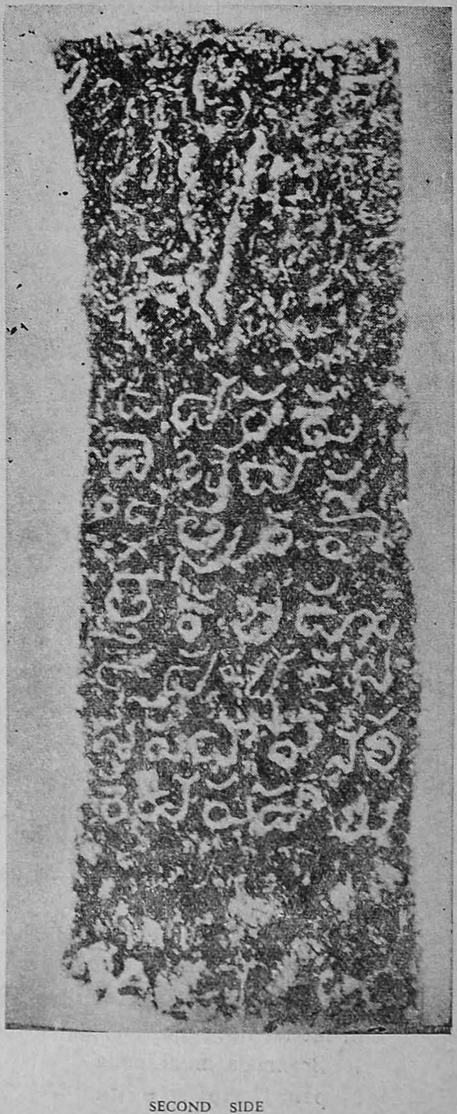
11 Read *dūmu-nyāyamunu.*

12 Read *gonnavāru.*

13 Read *vishṭāyāṁ.*

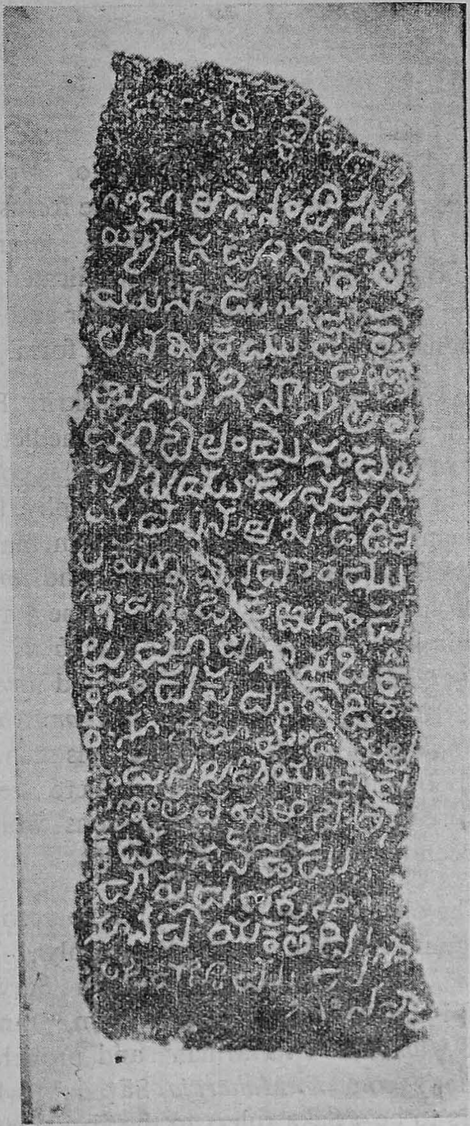
ITIKALA EPIGRAPH

FIRST SIDE



SECOND SIDE

ITIKALA EPIGRAPH



THIRD SIDE

FOURTH SIDE

10. SHANKARPUR PLATE OF BUDHAGUPTA AND HARIVARMAN : Gupta Year 166[1]

Balchandra Jain

The plate which is being published here was found sometime before June 1977 at the village Shankarpur in the Gopadavanasa tahsil of the Sidhi district of Madhya Pradesh by a village-boy who handed it over to the Principal of the nearby Higher Secondary School at Niwas in the same district. The said Principal deposited the plate in the Collector's office at Sidhi. The discovery was reported to Shri Veda Prakash Nagaich, Registering Officer of the Madhya Pradesh Archaeology and Museums Department, Rewa who obtained the plate from Sidhi Collectorate and forwarded the same to me for examination and study. I edit the record from the original plate as hereunder.

This is a single plate measuring 24 cms in breadth and 11 cms in height. The weight of the plate is 275 grms. The writing on the plate is in a good state of preservation.

The plate is inscribed on one side only. Its right top and bottom corners are damaged and broken off, causing loss of four letters in the first line, one in the second line and two or more in the last line. There is a small round hole about ½ cm in diameter in the middle of the left side in between the fifth and sixth lines for the seal-ring to pass. The seal is now missing.

The plate contains ten lines of writing. The average size of the letters is ⅗ cm. They are deeply engraved and show through the back of the plate.

The characters are of the Northern variety of the Brāhmī script of the 5th century A. D. and generally resemble those of the Khoh Copper plate inscription of *Mahārāja* Hastin, Gupta year 163.[2] The forms of *r* and *j* are of the earlier variety in majority of the cases. Medial *i* has been indicated by a semi-circular mark above the letter and an addittional dot inside shows its long form.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. Except for the two imprecatory and benedictive verses in lines 6-8, the whole record is composed in prose. As regards orthography, the consonant following *r* is redoubled in many cases as in *varmma* in lines 3 and 4, and *tārārkka* in line 64, but not in *Śarva* in line 4 and *sarma* in line 10; *s* is used for *ś* and *sh* as in *satē*, *saṭ* in line 1, *visṭha* in line 7 and *sarma* in line 10; final *m* is changed into *anusvāra* as in *phalaṁ* in line 8. The initial *u* is seen in line 6. In addition to the above, there are a few more omissions and commissions which have been rectified in the text.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Chitrapalya by *Mahārāja* Harivarman, son of queen Śarvasvāminī and *Mahārāja* Vijayavarman, grandson of *Mahārājā* Gītavarman[3] and probably daughter's son of *Mahārāja* Sāṭana[3] (who appears to be a Śaka ruler) to the brāhmaṇa Gōsvāmin of the Kautsa-gōtra. The grant was made by issuing the copper plate on a *tithi* (now lost due to damage)[4] in the month of *Śrāvaṇa* in the year 166[5] (expressed by words) of an unspecified era during the reign of *Paramadēva* Budhagupta when the year Mahā-Māgha of the 12-year cycle of the Jupiter was current. The village was made

free from all taxes, out of bound for all regular and irregular forces and to be enjoyed as long as the moon, the stars and the sun will endure.

The charter was written by the *dūtaka* Ruyashṭarāja who was the son of Nāgaśarman and was the *bhōgika* of the sub-division of Bapidra. The name of *mahāpratīhāra* Lavaṇa who was also the *Kumārāmātya* and *bhōgika* of the territory of Bhagavad-Rudrachhadi is also mentioned, perhaps as a witness.

As stated above, the inscription refers to the reign of *Paramadēva* Budhagupta who can be identified with *Mahārājādhirāja* Budhagupta of the imperial Gupta family whose Ēraṇ pillar inscription[6] is dated in the year 165. Evidently, the year 166[7] given in the present plate is that of the Gupta era and therefore corresponds to 485 A. D. The Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara of the 12 year cycle of Jupiter was current in the month of Śrāvaṇa in 485 A. D.[7], when the plate under study was given to the donee brāhmaṇa. It is interesting to note that in his Dāmōdarpūr plates[8], the emperor Budhagupta is styled as *Paramadaivata* while the present plate gives him the title of *Paramadēva* perhaps in the sense of an overlord.

The inscription is very important as it brings to light a hitherto unknown line of kings with varman-ending names, who were ruling in the Bāghēlakhaṇḍa area of Madhya Pradesh in the 5th century A. D. and who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Imperial Guptas. Names of three rulers of this hither to unknown dynasty have been mentioned in this record : they are (1) *Mahārāja* Gītavarman, (2) his son *Mahārāja* Vijayavarman and (3) the latter's son *Mahārāja* Harivarman who issued the present plate. The name of the dynasty, however, is not mentioned in the inscription. But, it may not be surprising if these kings have had some direct relation with the Maukharis of the Haṛāhā stone inscription[9] and the Asīrgaṛh copper seal inscription.[10]

The Haṛāhā stone inscription was incised in Vikrama 611 (554 A. D.) during the regin of Īśānavarman who is said to be the son of Īśvaravarman, grandson of Ādityavarman and great-grandson of Harivarman. The Asīrgaṛh copper seal inscription of Śarvavarman informs us that while Īśānavarman and his son Śarvavarman were the *mahārājādhirājas*, their three ancestors including Harivarman were mere *mahārājas*. Therefore, it is possible that *Mahārāja* Harivarman of the present plate may be identical with *Mahārāja* Harivarman of the Asīrgaṛh copper seal who has been highly praised in the Maukhari records. If so, the dynastic history of the Maukharis would go back to the second quarter of the 5th century A. D. when they were ruling in Bāghēlkhand as the feudatories of the Guptas. Thus *Mahārāja* Gītavarman,[11] grandfather of *Mahārāja* Harivarman, was probably a senior contemporary of Skandagupta.[12] The present plate also throws light on the original home of the Maukharīs.

The inscription informs us that Śarvasvāminī, the mother of Harivarman, was the daughter of *Mahārāja* Sāṭana. The letter following the name Sāṭana is broken away but the first letter in the next line is *ka*. Presuming that the lost letter in line 2 was a *śa*, the king appears to be a Śaka but I am not certain about the same.[13]

The localities mentioned in the inscription are the *bhōgas* of Bhagavad-Rudra-

chhadi and Bapidra. The first may have some relation with the famous temple of Rudra situated at the place but can not be identified for the present. Bapidra is similar to Gōpadra, probably the ancient name of the river Gōpad flowing nearby the find-spot of the plate. Its exact situation, however, is not known. The donated village Chitrapalya also remains unidentified. Like Vyāghrapallikā, Chhardapallika, Nāgadēya and Maṇināgapēṭha of the inscriptions of the Uchchakalpa *Mahārajas*,[14] this village has its name after a a wild animal, *chitra* (Hindī *chita*).

TEXT [15]

1 Siddham[16] [॥*] samvatsara-(śa)tēsa(sha)ṭsa(ṭsha)sṭyu(shṭhyu)ttarē [17] Mahā-māgha-samvatsara(rē) Śrāvaṇa...

2 myāṁ paramadēva-Budhaguptē rājani asyāṁ divasa-pūrvāyāṁ śrī-mahārāja-Sāṭana Sa[Śa] -[18]

3 ka-[dauhi][19]tē(trē)na śrī-mahārāja-Gītavarma-pautrēṇa śrī-mahārāja-Vijayavarmma-sutē[na]

4 mahādēvyā[ṁ] Śarvasvāminyām= utpannēna śrī-mahārāja-Harivammaṇā asya brāh-maṇa-Kau[tsa]-

5 sagōtra-Gōsvāmina [ē]tach-Chitrapalya tāmu(mra)paṭṭēn= āgrahārō =tisṛishṭaḥ akaraḥ achāṭa-bhaṭa-prā-

6 vēśyaḥ[।*] chandra-tār-ārkka-samakālīyaḥ Uktañcha bhagavatāVyāsēna[।*] Svadattām = paradattām = vā yō

7 harēta vasundharā(rāṁ) [।*] Sva(sa) visṭhā(shṭha)yā (yāṁ) kṛimir-bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha majyatē[॥1॥*] Bahubhirv =vasudhā

8 bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhi(bhiḥ) [।*] Yasya yasya yadā bhūmis= tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [॥2॥*]

9 Kumārāmātya-Bhagavad-rudrachhadi-bhōgika-mahāpratīhāra-Lavaṇaḥ Bapidra-bhō-gika(kē)[na]

10. dūtaka(kē)na likhitaṁ Ruyashṭaıājēna[20] Nāgaśa(śa)rma-su[tēna*] [॥*]

Notes:

1 [See Note 17 below where the date of this charter is correctly read as [Gupta] year 168.—K. V. Ramesh].

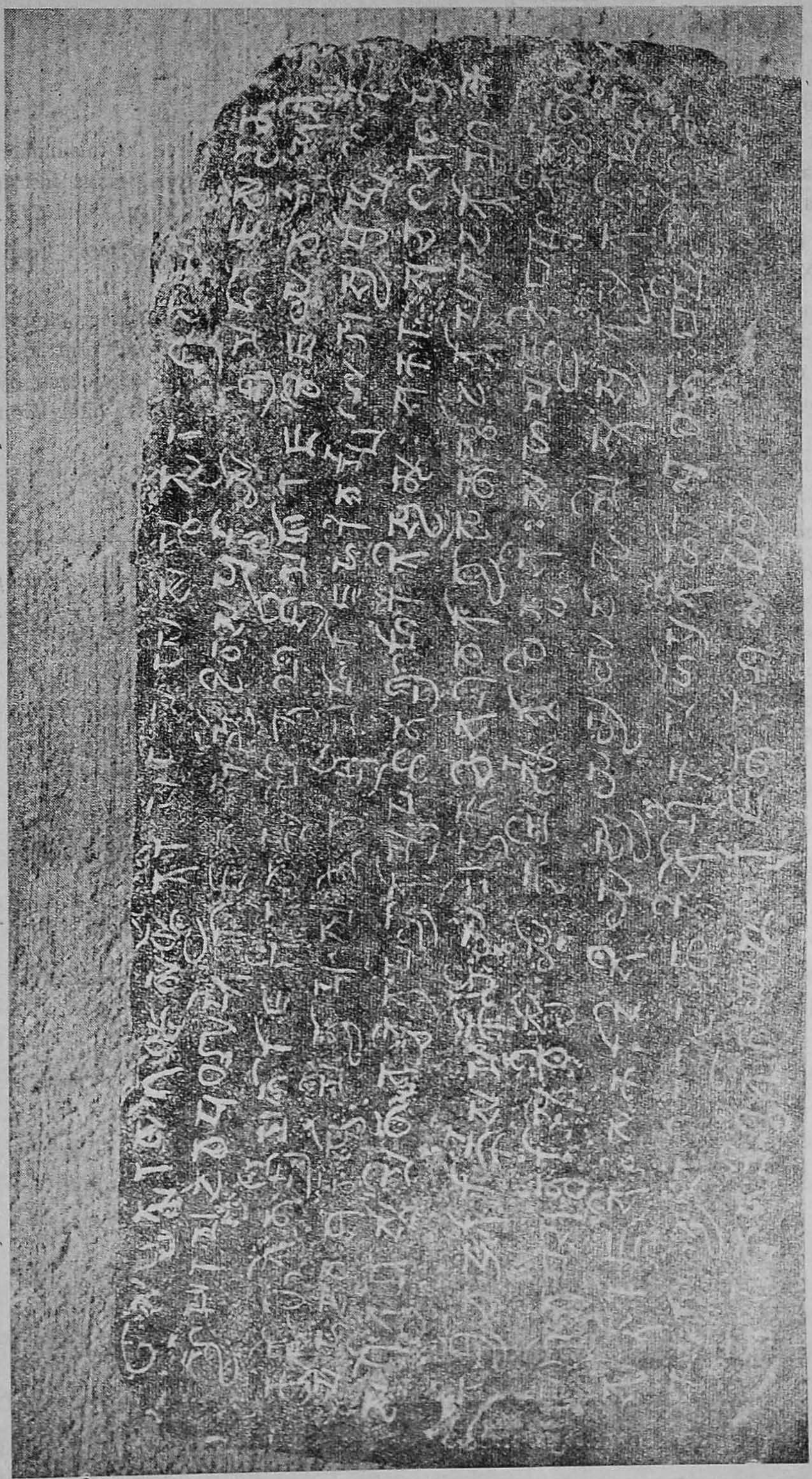
2 *CII.*, Vol. III, No. 22

3 The reading of the first letter of the name Gītavarman is not certain. [The reading of the last 2 and the first five letters in line 3 of the text is *Sāla*(or *rya*)*na kul-ōdbhūtēna*. Thus [Gī]tavarman is here described as a descendant of *Mahārāja* Sāluṇa[.]and not as the daughter's son *of* Sātana.—K. V. Ramesh]

4 The last part of the tithi *myāṁ* now existing, suggests that it may be pañchamī or like.

5 [See Note 17 below.—K. V. Ramesh].

6 *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 19.



SHANKARPUR PLATE OF BUDHAGUPTA AND HARIVARMAN

7 [See Note 17 below.—K.V. Ramesh].

8 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, 134 and 138.

9 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 115.

10 *CII.*, Vol. III, p. 219, No. 47.

11 The first letter of the name is doubtful and carelessly engraved. If we take this name to be a mistake for Bhīmavarman, then reference may be invited to the Kōsam stone image inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhīmavarman of year 139. See, *ASR*, Vol. I, pp. 309 ff.; Vol. X, p. 3 and *CII.*, Vol. III, No. 65.

12 A pillar inscription of the time of Skandagupta has been discovered from Supia near Rewa. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, p. 305.

13 The second letter of the name of this king is of a peculiar type. If the correct name is presumed to be Śāntana then the city of Śāntanapura mentioned in the Varanasi plates and identified with modern Satna may have been founded by him. *Proc. of 12th Ori. Con.*, p. 593 quoted by Parmanandgupta in *Geography in Ancient Indian Inscriptions*, p. 104. [This letter is more likely *la* and less likely *rya.*-K. V. Ramesh].

14 *CII.*, Vol. III, Nos. 26 and 31.

15 From original plate.

16 Expressed by a symbol.

17 [The correct reading of the date portion is *Samvatsara-sha(śa)t[ē]= shṭa-shashṭyuta(tta)rē* which will mean that the plate in question was actually issued in Gupta year 168 (= 487-88 A. D.) and not in 166 as stated by the learned author.—K.V. Ramesh].

18 The letter is broken.

19 Since the letters are carelessly engraved the reading is doubtful. [See foot note 3 above.—K. V. Ramesh].

20. [The intended reading is *Śrī-Yashṭarājēna.*—K. V. Ramesh].

11. PALLAVA QUEEN RANGAPATAKA'S INSCRIPTION

Michael Lockwood
A. Vishnu Bhat

The Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram is rich with inscriptions of its builder, the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman II (Rājasiṁha), as well as his son, Mahēndravarman III. In front of the main temple complex, just outside its enclosing wall, are several small shrines which belong to the same period. On three of these small shrines are some inscriptions which relate to their foundation by other members of the royal family.

E. Hultzsch, who edited and translated the Kailāsanātha temple inscriptions in Volume I (1890) of *South Indian Inscriptions* (Nos. 28-30), included in that volume the inscriptions found on the small shrines in front. The most notable of these inscriptions was the Sanskrit poetry of three verses ascribed to queen Raṅgapatākā.

R. Nagaswamy has recently noticed an error in Hultzsch's location of 'Raṅgapatākā's inscription. Hultzsch located the verse which contains the name 'Raṅgapatākā' on the facade of the third shrine to the right of the front entrance to the main temple complex. But this is not its correct position. This verse is actually found on the facade of the FIFTH shrine to the right of the front entrance.

This error in location is serious because the verse which contains the name 'Raṅgapatākā' does not stand alone. Hultzsch read it in conjunction with two other verses which actually are to be found on the third shrine. But now we shall have to read the 'Raṅgapatākā' verse in conjunction with the two different verses found on FIFTH shrine !

Beacause of this mistaken juxtaposition of verses, Hultzsch and all scholars since his day have unquestioningly thought Raṅgapatākā to be the queen of Narasiṁha II. For a clearer understanding of why they did so, we give below, in the order in which Hultzsch presented them in the *SII.*, Vol. I the several verses inscribed on the third and fifth shrines.

Here is Hultzsch's translation along with his location of the various verses :

On the third shrine to the right of the front entrance on the facade, first line (*SII.*, I, No. 29):

Adoration to Śiva !

(Verse 1) She, who was the dearly beloved mistress of her husband, the supreme lord, who was famed by the name of Kālakāla, whose sign was the bull, and the strength of whose bow had become manifest at the destruction of cities, just as the daughter of the king of mountains (*Pārvatī*) is, the dearly beloved mistress of her husband, the supreme lord *(Śiva)*, whose sign is the bull, and the strength of whose bow has become manifest at the destruction of *(the demon)* Pura ;

ON THE BACK

(Verse 2) She, who is resplendent, as she has attained the mighty position

of favourite with king Narasiṁha-vishṇu, who has split the hearts of his foes, and who has devoted himself to the protection of the circle of the world, and as thus she seems to have subdued the pride of Pushkaradēvatā (*i.e.*, Lakshmī, *the wife of the god* Narasiṁha-vishṇu) ;

ON THE FACADE, SECOND LINE

(Verse 3) That Raṅgapatākā, who was, as it were, the banner (*patākā*) of women, caused to be built this lovely dwelling of (*Śiva*,) whose crest-jewel is the moon.

On the fifth shrine to the right of the front entrance : on the facade (*SII*, I, No. 30).

Proseperity !

(Verse 1) She, who, full of loveliness, softness, grace and cleanliness, seemed to be the master-piece of the first creator, whose skill had attained perfection at last, after he had created thousands of good-looking women ;

ON THE BACK

(Verse 2) She, who was charming through genuine sweetness, who was adorned with grace, coquetry and feeling, who, like the art of attraction ....

It should be immediately obvious that if verse 3 which mentions the name 'Raṅgapatākā' is not located (as stated above) in the inscription of the third shrine but rather is verse 3 of the inscription of the fifth shrine, then the heretofore unquestioned identity of Raṅgapatākā as "favourite" queen of king Narasiṁha must be examined afresh and established solely by some new evidence.

But this is not the only major reassessment called for with respect to the inscriptions on these shrines. In re-translating the two verses which properly belong to the third shrine, we would like to emphasize the point that there are four royal persons (not two) who are involved in the poetical comparison with four divine beings: 1) king Paramēśvara I (who is evidently deceased), 2) his wife (the surviving Queen Mother), 3) king Narasiṁha II (son of Paramēśvara I and the now reigning monarch) and 4) king Narasiṁha's wife. The similes are as follows: king Paramēśvara I = the god Paramēśvara (Śiva); Paramēśvara's queen = the goddess, Pārvatī (daughter of the King of Mountains); king Narasiṁha II = the god, Narasiṁha-vishṇu; Narasiṁha's queen = the goddess, Lakshmī (Pushkaradēvatā).

Here, then, are our reading and translation of the verses, with the correction of the 'Raṅgapatākā' verse :

ON THE 3RD SHRINE TO THE RIGHT OF THE FRONT ENTRANCE : ON THE FACADE

Namaśśivāya [॥*] (Verse 1). Bharttuḥ purōnmathana-drishṭa-dhanurbbalasya Śailādhirāja-tanay=ēva Vṛishadhvajasya [।*]
yā Kālakāla iti viśruta-puṇya-kīrttēḥ
kāntā nitānta-dayitā Paramēśvarasya[॥*]

Salutations to Śiva. (Her) husband's (i.e. king Paramēśvara's) well-merited fame being wide spread as 'Kālakāla' on account of his bow's power (having been made) manifest in the destruction of cities, (thus) like the 'Daughter of the great King of Mountains', (she) the dearly beloved wife of Paramēśvara, the 'Bull-bannered one',

ON THE BACK

(Verse 2) Dēvē jagad-valaya-rakshaṇa-baddha-dīkshē nirbbhinna-śatru-hṛidayē Narasiṁha-Vishṇau [।*]

Vāllabhyam-ūrjitam=avāpya virājatē yā nirjjitya garvvam=iva Pushkaradēvatāyāḥ [॥*]

attaining supremacy (as Queen Mother), shines with surpassing splendour, subduing, as it were, the pride of Pushkaradēvatā, while god-like Narasiṁhavishṇu, true to his sacred vow, is protecting the encircling world, (and) tearing out the hearts of his enemies.

ON THE 5TH SHRINE TO THE RIGHT OF THE FRONT ENTRANCE : ON THE FACADE : 1ST LINE

Śrī [॥*] (Verse1) Ākāra-sundara-vilāsavatī-sahasra-sargga-prabandha-chira- [saṁskṛita-kau]śalasya [।*]

lāvaṇya-mārddava-vilāsa-mṛijā samagrā-nirmmāṇa - siddhir = iva yā prathamasya dhātuḥ ॥

Prosperity ! (She,) who, full of loveliness, softness, grace and purity, seemed to be the masterpiece of the primeval creator Brahmā, whose skill had attained perfection at last, after he had created thousands of good looking women,

ON THE BACK

(verse 2) Aklishṭa-mādhuryya-vilōbhanīyām vibhūshitām vibhrama-hāva-bhāvaiḥ [।*] ākarsha-vidyām= iva lō...........

(She,) who was so appealing because of (her) genuine sweetness, adorned with sentiment (both) charming (and) fascinating, (who,) like the art of attraction, ...

ON THE FACADE, 2nd LINE

(verse 3) Nirmmāpitam= idan= dhāma tayā-chandra-[śikhā]maṇēḥ [।*]

Patā[kay= ēva] nārīṇām ramyam Raṅga-patāka[yā ॥*]

that Raṅgapatākā, who was, as it were, the banner of women, caused to be built this lovely dwelling of (Śiva) whose crest-jewel is the moon.

12. AMGURA PLATES OF MAHA-JAYARAJA, Year 3

Smt. S. Tripathy

A set of three copper plates was discovered in 1975 at Amgura, a village in the Khariar Sub-division of Kalahandi District. They were found by the field labourers while ploughing and handed over to *Yuvaraj* Jitamitra Prasad Singhdeo, of Khariar-rāj who was good enough to help me in copying the inscription during my tour of that area in search of epigraphical antiquities in the month of September, 1976.

This copper plate grant belongs to the king Mahā-Jayarāja of the Śarabhapurīya dynasty, three of whose charters have already been published.[1] The present inscription is written on a set of three plates, the first and third of which are inscribed only on one side and the second on both the sides. Each plate measures 5.9/10″X3.2/10″. The ring to which the seal was attached is now broken and missing. The diameter of the seal is 3.4/10″. Its rim is broken at places; it bears on its surface the emblems of Gajalakshmī, with Lakshmī standing in full front as found in other records of the rulers of the Śarabhapura dynasty. The two elephants stand each over a lotus on either side of the deity with trunks raised above her head. There is a full blown lotus in the right corner and a conch shell in the proper left. The upper part of the surface of the seal is separated from the legend by two horizontal straight lines. The legend is written in a verse referring to the permanent charter of king Mahā-Jayarāja, son of Prasanna. Generally the plates and the seal resemble those of the published records of king Mahā-Jayarāja.

The script used in the charter is of box-headed type of the Central Indian alphabet and the language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the legend on the seal and the imprecatory verses at the end of the charter, the record is written in prose. As regards palaeography, language and orthography the inscription resembles very closely the other grants of the donor. However, the beginning portion of the introductory part of the present grant differs to some extent from those of the already discovered grants of the king. The benedictory and imprecatory verses are also not written in proper order. The language is similar in all the four charters excepting in the grant portion. The sign of medial *ī* is made by inserting a dot in the circular sign. A horizontal stroke has been employed to indicate the mark of punctuation (lines 9, 12 and 13) and the sign of *visarga* is shown with two small horizontal strokes one above the other (line 10). In some cases normal sign of *visarga* (a pair of dots one above the other) is also used (lines 15, 16 and 19). In respect of orthography, we notice constant use of the *anusvāra* instead of the dental *n* and the doubling of *t* after it, eg., in *udāharaṁtti* (line 9), and *bhavaṁtti* (line 16), the doubling of *v* after *r*, *e.g.*, *pūrvvaṁ* (line 5), *bahubhir-vvasudhā* (line 9). The doubling of *k* in conjunction with a following *r* is often noticed, e.g., *vikkram-ākkrānta* (line 1of the seal). The word *siṅgha* is written for *siṁha* as in other records of Mahā-Jayarāja. In some cases the rules of *sandhi* are not observed. The numerical symbols for 3 and 7 are found in line 18. No era is referred to in the inscription.

The charter begins with the symbol for *siddhaṁ* and the auspicious word *svasti.* Lines 2 ff. describe the donor Mahā-Jayarāja as *paramabhāgavata* who granted the village Rājyagrāma in Sāmparāja-bhukti in favour of a brāhmaṇa named Vishṇusvāmin of the Kauśika-gōtra and Vājasanēya-charaṇa for the merit of his parents and for his own merit. The lines 6 to 8 mention the advice to the inhabitants of the granted village to be obedient to the donee and to pay him the usual *bhōga*(the taxes to be paid to the king). The donor also requests the future rulers of the land to protect his grant. Lines 9 ff. contain the usual imprecatory verses composed by Vyāsa. Lines 17 ff. indicate that the executor of the grant was the king himself (*svamukh-ājñayā*) in the presence of the officers like the *dūta* and *adhikaraṇa*, etc. Lines 18-19 mention that the charter was engraved by the goldsmith Achalasiṁha in the 3rd regnal year of the king on the occasion of Māgha-Saptamī.

Although no era is referred to in the inscriptions of Jayarāja, his reign may be assigned to the 6th century A. D[2]. The present charter contains the earliest known date of his reign. Achalasiṁha was also the engraver of the other three charters of the donor. That he was a goldsmith is known from the present charter. From the seal it is known that Mahā-Jayarāja was the son of Prasannamātra whose coins are also found in large number in the Khariar region.[3]

TEXT[4]

FIRST PLATE

1 Siddhaṁ[5] [।*] Svasti [।*] Śarabhapurāt= parama-bhāgavatō mātāpitṛi-pād-ānu-
2 dhyātaś= śri(śrī)-Mahā-Jayarāja[ḥ] Sāmparāja-bhuktīya-Rājya-grāmē pra-
3 tivāsinas= sam= ājñāpayati viditam= astu vō yath= āsmā-
4 bhir= ayaṁ grāmō Vājasanēya-Kauśika-sagōtra-brāhmaṇa Vishṇusvā-
5 minē mātāpitrōr= ātmanaś= cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē udaka-pūrvva[ṁ] tāmra-

SECOND PLATE: FIRST SIDE

6 śāsanēn= ātisṛishṭas= tē yūyam= ēv= ōpalabhy= āsy[6]= ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyā-bhū-
7 tvā yath= ōchitaṁ bhōga- bhāgam= upanēshyatha[7] [॥] Bhavishyataś = cha bhūmipālā-
8 n= bōdhayati [।] Bhavadbhir= apy= asyā dattē[ḥ] pratipālanaṁ karttavya-
9 m= ataś= cha Vyāsa-gītā[ṁ ś]= ch= āpi ślōkān= udāharaṁtti(ti)[8] Bahubhir= vvasudhā
10 dattā rājabhis= Sagar-ādibhiḥ [।] yasya yasa yadā bhūmis= tasya tasya

SECOND PLATE : SECOND SIDE

11 tadā phalaṁ (lam) [॥] Sva-dattā [ṁ] para-dattāṁ vā yatnād= raksha Yudhishṭhira [।*] ma-

12 hī[m]= mahimatā[ṁ] śrēshṭha dānāch= chhrēyō= nupālanaṁ[8] shashṭhim= varsha[9]-

13 sahasrāṇi svarggē vasati bhūmida[ḥ] [।*] āchhēpta[10] ch= ā-

14 numantā cha tāny= ēva narakē vasē[t] [॥] Agnēr= apatya[ṁ] prathamaṁ

15. suvarṇṇaṁ bhūr =Vvaishṇavī Sūrrya-sutāś= cha gāva[ḥ।*] lōkās =traya-

THIRD PLATE

16 s= tēna bhavaṁntti(nti) dattāḥ॥ yaḥ= kāṁchana[ṁ] gāṅ= cha machīṅ= cha dadyā-

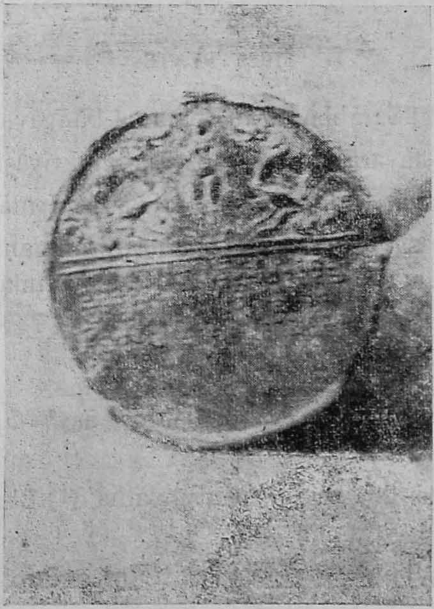
17 d= iti [।*] Dūtakam= adhikaraṇa[ṁ] sva-mukh-ājñayā pravarddhamāna -vi-

18 jaya-sāvvatsara[11] 3 Māgha 7 ukti(tkī)rṇṇa[ṁ] suvarṇṇa-

19 kār =Āchalasiṅghēna [॥]

SEAL

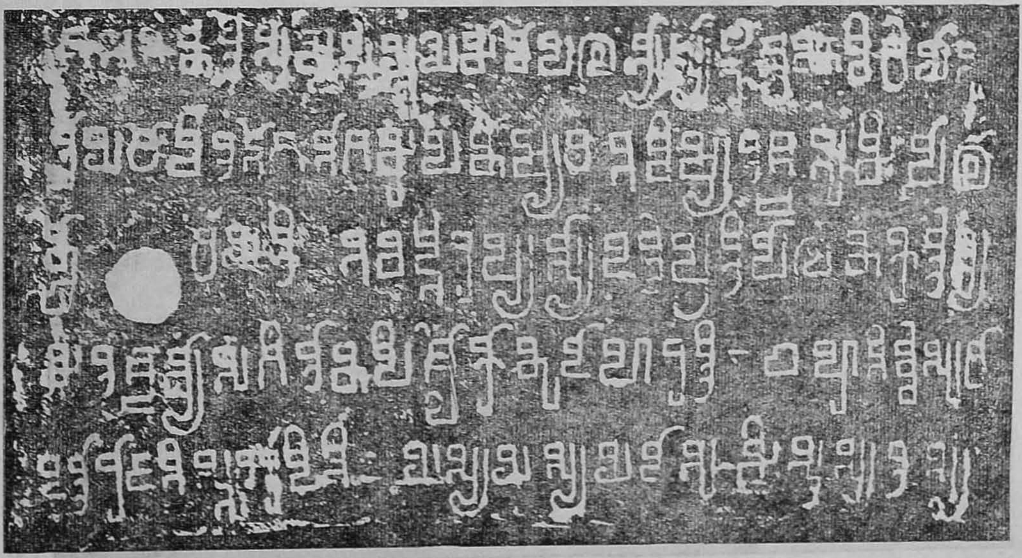
1. Prasanna-[hṛi]dayasy =aiva vikkram-ākkrā[ṁ]ta-vidvishaḥ [।]
2. Śrīmatō Jayarājasya śāsana[ṁ] ripu-śāsana[ṁ] [॥*]



AMGURA PLATES : SEAL

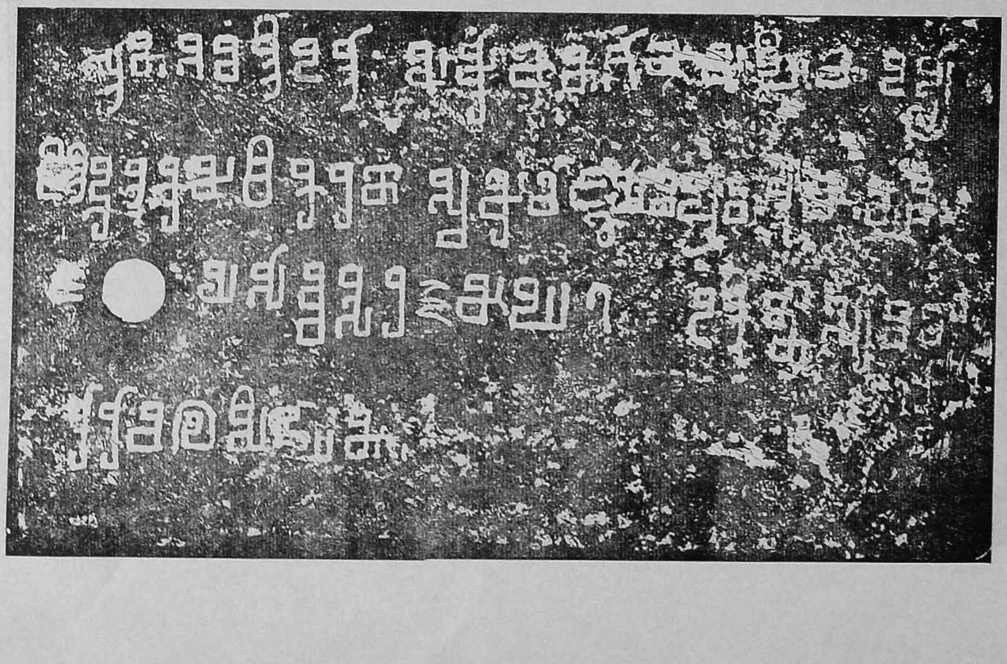
FIRST PLATE

SECOND PLATE: FIRST SIDE



SECOND PLATE: SECOND SIDE

THIRD PLATE



Notes :

1. (i) Ārang plates issued in the 5th regnal year of the king (*CII.*, Vol. III, pp. 19 ff. and plates). (ii) Mallār grant issued in the same year (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 155 ff. and plates); and (iii) Mallār grant of the 9th regnal year (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 28 ff. and plates.).
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 155 ff.
3. In 1975 seven numbers of gold coins of Prasannamātra were discovered at Nehna near Khariar where a copper plate grant of Mahāsudēvarāja was also found (cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 170 ff.).
4. From the original plates and the impressions.
5. Expressed by symbol.
6. Read : *Yūyam=ēvam =upalabhy =āsy...*
7. Read : *m =upanayantaḥ sukhaṁ prativatsyatha.*
8. There is a sign for punctuation.
9. Read : *Shashṭiṁ varsha.*
10. Read : *āchchhēttā.*
11. Read : *Saṁvatsara.*

13. AGRA INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA I

Madhav N. Katti

This inscription[1] is engraved on a sand-stone pillar, buffish red in colour, presently kept in the Office of the Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle, Agra, U.P. The pillar which is a little damaged and broken is roundish in shape and measures approximately 1.30 m high, its diameter being about .96 m. The inscription is also partly worn out but it can be made out that it had eight lines of writing originally, of which the first six lines have remained mostly in tact, retaining luckily the important portion of the text. The size of the pillar indicates that it was a votive pillar.

The characters of the inscription are Brāhmī of the Kushāṇa type. The letters are on an average 1.5 cm in height. The palaeographical features are regular for the second half of the first century and first half of the second century A. D. The characters in general resemble those of the Kosam, Sahet-mahet and Mathura (Curzon Museum) inscriptions[2] of the same king. It is, however, interesting to note that the letter *ya* both in its independent form (line 5) and subscript form (twice in line 1) maintains its tripartite form.

Amongst the orthographical peculiarities, it is important to mention here that the vowel in the first letter of the name of the king is lengthened and the second letter is of the cerebral class, thus the name being written as *Kāṇishka*.

The language of the epigraph is Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit as is the regular feature to be met with in the Kushāṇa inscriptions.[3] The Prakrit influence is distinctly seen in the words like *raja* (in *Mahā-raja*-line 1), *saṁvachharē* (line 2), [*bhi*]*kunā* (line 3), *bhikuya* (line 5) etc.

The inscription addresses the king as *Maharaja* Kāṇishka (i.e. *Mahārāja* Kanishka) and refers itself to his 16th regnal year, the other details of date not being clear as that portion is much worn out. It is a well known fact that emperor Kanishka is mentioned in inscriptions variously as Kāṇishka, Kaṇishka, Kanishka, Kaṇēshka[4] etc. and bears at times the simple title *mahārāja*[5] in a number of inscriptions, while in some he is also variously addressed as *mahārāja*, *rajatiraja*, *dēvaputra*[6] etc. Our inscription follows the former pattern and addresses him only as *Mahārāja* which definitely indicates that this belongs to the earlier period of the reign of this dynasty as well as of this king. The particulars of *saṁvatsara* also follow the already known pattern, the numerical figure being given as 10 and 6 (i. e., 16)[7]. By comparing this epigraph with the already published records of the Kushāṇa rulers in general and those of Kanishka I[8] in particular and in the light of the above discussion, I identify *Mahārāja* Kāṇishka of our record with the Kushāṇa emperor Kanishka I who ruled from A. D. 78 to 102.[9]

The purpose of the inscription is to record the setting up of the inscribed pillar by a *bhiku* (*bhikshu*) and to make a grant on that occasion. The donor was, in all probability, the emperor himself. As the details of the grant are worn out, it can only be presumed that the recipients of the

grant were both the *bhikshu* and a person belonging to the [Ri][10]shṭishēṇa-[sa]gōtra. The grant must have been made over by the emperor to commemorate some significant event of his career.

The importance of our inscription lies in the fact that it is another hitherto unnoticed record of this great Kushāṇa emperor Kanishka (I) and the first to be found on a votive pillar. This is also the only epigraph belonging to the 16th regnal year of this emperor (which would be 94 A. D.). That a *bhikshu* and a person of [Ri]-shṭishēṇa-[sa]gōtra, obviously of Brahmanical derivation, are mentioned together in the record, shows that the emperor paid equal importance to both Buddhism and Hinduism.

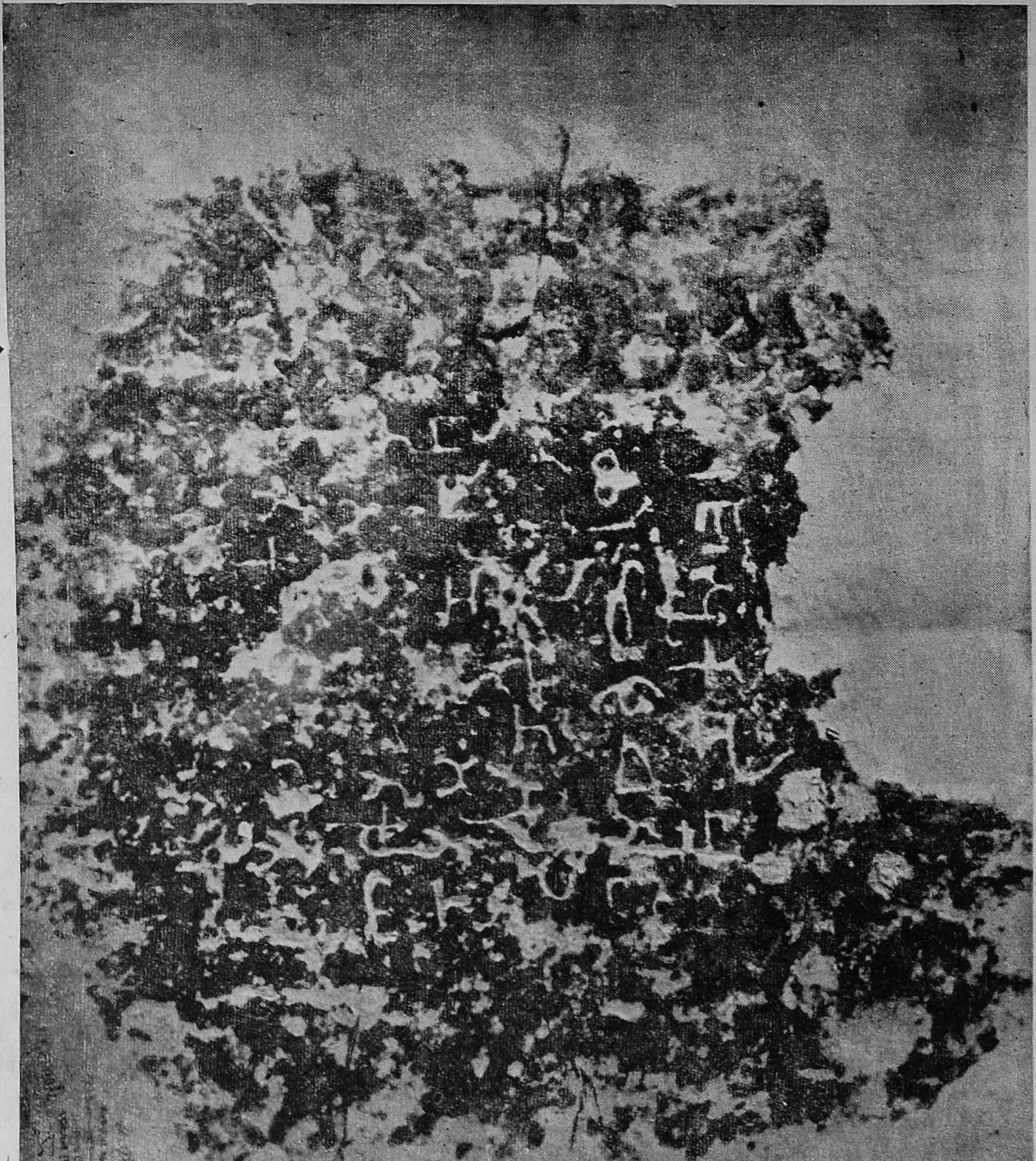
Though the information about the actual find-spot of the inscription is not available, it is possible that it must have come from the area around Mathurā which formed an important centre of the Kushāṇa activities and which is in the proximity of Agra.

TEXT

1 . Ma[hā]rajasya Kāṇishkasya..
2 . [saṁ]vachharē 10 6 ētāyē pu]-
3 [rva] . . [bhi]kunā prati[ṭhita] .
4 [thabhō[11] Ri]shṭishēṇa-[sa]gōtrāna[ṁ].
5 . . [prathama[12]] . . bhikuya . . .
6 ...[bhiku] . . [khattiya][13] . .
7 . .[thabhō][14]...
8 ....

Notes :

1. I am thankful to the authorities of the Archaeological Survey of India, and to shri M N. Deshpande and shri B. K. Thapar in particular, for enabling me to edit this inscription.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. XXIV, pp. 210 ff. and pl; IX, pp. 290-91 and pl. and XXVIII, pp. 42 ff. and pl.
3. *Vide* D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 135 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, and particularly pp. 138-39 and 142.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-38 (Nos. 36A and 37-39 and 146 No. 45A).
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39 (Nos. 40 and 41) and 145 (No. 45).
7. *Vide* G. H. Ojha, *Indian Palaeography*, plates (LXXI and LXXII) and P. L. Gupta, *Ancient Indian Numerals*, Chart No. 1. Dr. Gai also has confirmed that the regnal year mentioned in the epigraph is 16.
8. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 135 and the plates in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. referred to therein.
10. I owe this reading to Dr. K. V. Ramesh.
11. This refers obviously to the setting up of the inscribed pillar.
12. It is possible that this reference is to a *saṅgha*.
13. The emperor might have referred to this grant as being given as per the duties of a *kshatriya*. However, the context is not very clear.
14. The letters are almost worn out. This is only a possible reading.



AGRA INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA

14. SALE OF LAND IN THE CHOLA PERIOD

N. Kasinathan

In ancient Tamilnadu all administrative and revenue activities were conducted systematically. In all matters, such as administering the village, demarcating the land boundaries, and maintaining the temples good care was taken to see that the rules and customs were strictly adhered to. In fact, in case of selling the lands, already prescribed procedures were followed and any departure from such procedures was meticulously avoided. An example may be cited for this from one inscription (*SII.*,Vol IV, No. 424) of Tiruvāṉaikkā.

This inscription is engraved on the north wall of the third *prākāra* of the Jambukēśvara temple. It belongs to the reign of Rājarāja III (1216-56 A. D.) and refers to the sale of lands by an individual named Śilambaṉ Pichchadēvaṉ of Vaḷāḍi, situated in Kīḻpalāṟṟūr, a small division in Pāchchir-kūṟṟam, in Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu, to Ādichaṇḍēśvarar the *mūlabhṛityar* of Uḍaiyār who is much pleased at having been seated under the shadow of the white banyan tree of the Tiruvānaikkā-uḍaiya nāyanār temple. Śilambaṉ himself had earlier purchased this land from Śīyārudēvaṉ of Śembiyan-Kūṟṟūr, residing at Tiruvānaikkā, his younger brother Tirunaṭṭapperumaṉ Ādittadēvaṉ, Uḍaiyapiḷḷai Chokkañānasambandaṉ, his younger brother Śiyārudēvaṉ and Avayambukkāṉ Tirunaṭṭapperumāṉ. All of them belong to Śembiyaṉ-Kūṟṟūr in Mīpalāṟu, in the same *nāḍu* (i. e. in the same Pāchchiṟ-kūṟṟam).

BOUNDARIES OF THE LAND: While narrating the boundaries of the land, this epigraph specifies the boundaries of Śembiyankūṟṟūr, denoting that all the lands belonging to that village have been sold to the Chaṇḍēśvarar of Tiruvānaikkā. The eastern boundary is to the west of the borders of Paiṅgaṇi, Pirāyakkuḍi and Kumāramaṅgalam. The southern boundary is to the north of the borders of Kīramaṅgalam and Īḻattuvāṇiyachchēri. The western boundary is to the east of the borders of Paṅgayachchelvinallūr, Āḷappiṟandanallūr, Pērūr and Śiṟudavūr. The northern boundary is to the south of the borders of Niṉṟiyūr. It further explains that the lands belonging to some other village and lying within the borders of this village have to be excluded and the lands lying within the boundaries of some other village and belonging to this village have to be included. This clause is interesting, since it provides immense power to the purchaser to own all the lands lying in the said village and the lands belonging to this village but lying in some other village.

KINDS OF LANDS: The extent of the land and its kinds are stated next. As per the register (*pottakam*) the wet lands brought under cultivation are 33 and some fraction *kāṇis*. The dry land is less than one *kāṇi*. The *Tirunāmattukkāṇi* of Śembiyanīśvaram-uḍaiyār is less than one *kāṇi* and the land belonging to Śikaraṇapperumpaḷḷi is also less than one *kāṇi*. In all it comes to more than 34 *kāṇis*. But in the inscription only 33 and some fraction of a *kāṇi* is mentioned. Presumably this 33 and some fraction of a *kāṇi* denote only the wet lands. This also leads us to suppose that the dry land and

the lands belonging to Śembiyanīśvaram-udaiyār and Śīkaraṇapperumpaḷḷi might have been exempted.

Two kinds of wet lands are mentioned in this inscription. One is *kār-māṟu* (i. e., the second yielding of *kār*) and the other is *orupū* (i. e. single crop). The term *kārmāṟu* indirectly indicates that there are some lands yielding two crops.

LANDS THAT ARE EXCLUDED : There are some lands that are completely excluded in calculating the total area of that village. They are: the areas adjacent to the village and adjacent to the Pulaichēri, the raised lands (*māṉṟu*), the waste land where the cattle take rest (*kaṉṟu-nilaippāḷ*), the area that is not measured, three garden lands of Śembiyanīśvaram-udaiyār, two housing sites of Śivabrāhmaṇas and a housing site of the person who is in Śīkaraṇapperumpaḷḷi. This indicates how cautious and generous they were in preserving unity among the different sects and in protecting even the cattle.

Though they are excluded from calculating the total area of the lands, they are included in selling out to Ādichaṇḍēśvarar. That means they come under the control of Ādichaṇḍēśvarar with some exemptions such as maintaining themselves with the yields of their lands.

AREAS AND THINGS THAT ARE INCLUDED : Pāham, Pāhāśiriyam, Poduvu, Poduvāriyam, the trees that are over-grown and the wells that are dug in these lands, are all included. While the meanings of Pāham and Pāhāśiriyam are not clear, Poduvu is the area left for common purpose of the village and Poduvāriyam is the area adjacent to Poduvu.

The price of the whole land i.e. 33 and fraction of a *kāṇi* is mentioned as 16520 *kāśu*. The *kāśu* is termed as *Aṉṟādu-naṟkāśu* meaning the coin which was in circulation on that day.

Āvaṇakkaḷari: The money was received by the seller in Āvaṇakkaḷari (i.e., in the presence of the people of the Registration office). The seller also received money for his menial expenditure (*kaichelavu*). On receiving the whole money he issued the deed of agreement for sale (*Vilaipramāṇa-iśaivu-tīṭṭu*). The seller also declared that the agreement was to be considered as a receipt or cashbill for exchanging the property (*Poruḷ-māvaṟutipporuṭchelavōlai*), that there was no need of preparing any separate receipt for exchanging the property, that on such requisition he was prepared to sign in the registration of final deed (*Pramāṇam*) and that if he should refuse to sign in the registration of final deed, the deed of agreement for sale itself could be taken as the final deed. This mode of acceptance clearly indicates how intelligent the people were in preparing the agreement, giving no room for future repercussions.

SIGNATORIES: The first signatory is the *Madhyasthan*, Tērpoliyaniṉṟān Pañchanadivāṇaṉ of Madanamaṅgalam who wrote the agreement by the order of the seller. Next is the seller's signature. The following persons are the other signatories :

	Name	Village
1	Śīyārudēvaṉ	Tiruvānaikkā
2	Kulōttuṅgachōḻa Maḻavadarayaṉ	Tuṟaiyūr
3	Ākkoṇḍapiḷḷai for Avayambukkāṉ	Tirunaṭṭapperumāṉ Sembiyaṉ Kūṟṟūr
4	Śīrāmadēvaṉ Tirunaṭṭapperumāṉ	,,
5	Tiruppūvaṉamuḍaiyāṉ Ādittadēvaṉ	,,
6	Kuḍitāṅgina Āṇḍāṉ for Uḍaiyapiḷḷai Śīyārudēvaṉ who has put his thumb impression (*kaināṭṭu*)	Vāyttalaikkūḍalūr
7	Viḻupparaiyaṉ	Tuṟaiyūr
8	Iḷaiyaperumāḷ Śiṅgapperumāṉ	Śāttaṁgu[ḍi]
9	Ādittadēvaṉ Kūttāḍunāyaṉ	Śembiyaṉ Kūṟṟūr
10	Uttamaśōḻaṉ Maḻanāṭṭu Vēḷāṉ	Śāttaṉpādi
11	Uḍaiyapiḷḷai Chokkoṅāṉasambandaṉ	Śembiyaṉ Kūṟṟūr
12	Mūvēndavēḷāṉ	Tuṟaiyūr
13	Rājēndraśōḻa Maḻavadarayaṉ	Tuṟaiyūr
14	Pāmbūrnāṭṭukkōṉ	Eyiṉṉūr
15	Teṉkarainaṭṭuvēḷāṉ	Tuṟaiyūr
16	Mūvēndavēḷāṉ	Veḷḷūr
17	Vikramaśōḻamaḻanāṭṭukkōṉ	Marudūr
18	Mālaiyāḻvāṉ *alias* Karikālasōḻa-maḻanāṭṭukkōṉ	,,
19	Śuṟṟaṅgāttāṉāṉa Maḻanāṭṭukkōṉ	,,
20	Āḻvāṇḍāṉ	Pāmburam
21	Kūttāḍuvāṉ Pollādāṉ	Pūṇḍi
22	Śivapādaśēkhara Maḻanāṭṭukkōṉ	Marudūr
23	One person (name not mentioned)	Nāḍāmaṇgalam
24	Śuṟṟaṅgāttāṉ	Tarumapuram
25	Tēnāṟuṅgoṉṟaiyāṉ.	Tuṟaiyur

Among the signatories that are listed above, numbers 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 11 are the persons from whom the present seller Śilambaṉ Pichchadēvaṉ of Vāḷāḍi purchased these lands. It is made clear that these persons as also the acceptors and witnesses were bound by the conditions of the agreement registered.

15. TWO INSCRIBED TERRACOTTA BALLS FROM BHELAVAR

Sarjug Prasad Singh

The Terracotta balls along with 16 silver punch-marked coins[1] were discovered by Shri Pasupati Singh of the Gaya District of Bihar. The balls and the coins are said to have been found from the mounds of Bhelavar situated about 6 miles to the east of Jehanabad Railway Station on the Patna-Gaya branch of the Eastern Railway and about 30 miles to the south of Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna) and about the same distance to the north of Bōdhgayā.[2]

The Terracotta balls in question are hand-made and made of fine paste of clay. They are not properly baked. Their surface is smooth and bears no decoration. Ball No.1 is 2.2" in circumference and 205 gms in weight. It bears a single line of writing in the characters of the Gupta age. The inscription reads : *Kōśyapādānulava*, i. e., Kōśya's reverence to the feet of an unknown person or deity.[3]

Ball No. 2 is 2.8" in circumference and 211 gms in weight. The inscription, in characters of about 10th or 11th century, reads *Agnisutadharadēvē* i.e., of *Agnisutadharadēva*[4]. An examination of the balls under discussion shows that the inscriptions were engraved before the balls were dried up and baked i.e., when the clay was still soft. The weights of the balls are irregular and they do not correspond to the traditional weight standard and hence they were probably not used as weights. It may be noted in this connection that stone and terracotta balls are often discovered at ancient sites ; but they are rarely inscribed. As many as 88 terracotta balls of different sizes were dug out in the excavations at Kumrahar (ancient Pāṭaliputra).[5] One of these balls is decorated by dotted lines ; but none of them is inscribed. During 1961-62, 44 circular balls of terracotta and 34 of stone were discovered in the excavation at Ahar.[6] Terracotta balls have also been discovered from the early sites of Sumer, Egypt and Indus valley.

It may be pointed out in this connection that numerous stone and terracotta balls of different sizes have been dug out in the recent excavations carried out by the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, at Nathnagar (also called Champānagar), the ancient site of the city of Champā, the capital of the Aṅga country.[7] The uninscribed terracotta balls of small sizes were generally used for playing and learning numerals by counting while the bigger ones may have been used as missiles or sling bow.

The present terracotta balls bearing the names of Kōśya and Agnisutadharadēva may have been used for the purpose of offering and they were probably offered by the donors (whose names are inscribed on the balls) together with their offerings as a sort of label to their gifts to some deity. It is worthy of note that similar terracotta balls bearing personal names like Dēvachandramitra, Kshīradēva, Mahidharadēva etc., found from the same village, have been published elsewhere by me.[8] Like stone and copper plate, clay objects (tablets, plaques, votive stūpas, etc.) which were much cheaper and easily procurable were possibly used to record minor dona-

tions of poor people. The inscribed balls in question seem to indicate the existence of a religious establishment at Bhelavar. It appears that it was a place of pilgrimage during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods and that people visited the place to offer their worship. The discovery of a large number of images of Brahmanical gods and goddesses from the ruins of temple and tanks also indicates the religious importance of the village.[9]

Notes:

1 The coins will be published in a separate paper.

2 Situated close to the south of the village, the mounds of Bhelavar are spread over about fifteen acres of land and surrounded on all sides by old tanks called Bhaṭṭokhar (or Bhaṭṭapōkhar), Chandokhar (or Chandrapōkhar), Nilokhar (or Nilampōkhar), Parmēśvarīpokhar, Tārkēśvarīpōkhar, and Siravā etc. Old antiquities like early terracotta figurines, coins, seals, and pottery pieces of Black and N. B. P. ware are often discovered by the villagers while digging earth on the mounds of Bhelavar. The mounds of Bhelavar, as compared to the sites of Sonepur, Rajgir, Buxar, Chiran etc., are also of very high antiquity. It is hoped that systematic exploration and excavation of the mounds of Bhelavar will yield rich collection of historical material for the reconstruction of the obscure history of Ancient India. According to the local tradition the village of Bhelavar is the original seat of *Bhelauriyā Bhūmihar* Brāhmaṇas said to have been founded by Bhōpana Bhaṭṭa, a Kashmiri Brāhmaṇa, who was *Rajapaṇḍita* at the court of a legendary king Chandrasēna of Magadha. Bhaṭṭa is said to have installed a victory pillar of king Chandrasēna in a tank at the village of Dharaut (Gaya District) and obtained the village of Bhelavar in *Zāgir* as a reward for his success in the erection of the pillar. Bhōpana Bhaṭṭa is also credited to have built temple and dug tanks at Bhelavar. King Chandrasēna has been identified with Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty.

3 See plate on p.84, No. 1.

4 See plate on p. 84, No 2.

5 Altekar and Mishra, *Rep. Kum Exca*.,1951-55, p. 125, pl. XLVIII.

6 Sankalia, Deo and Ansari, *Excavations at Ahar*, pp. 194, 207.

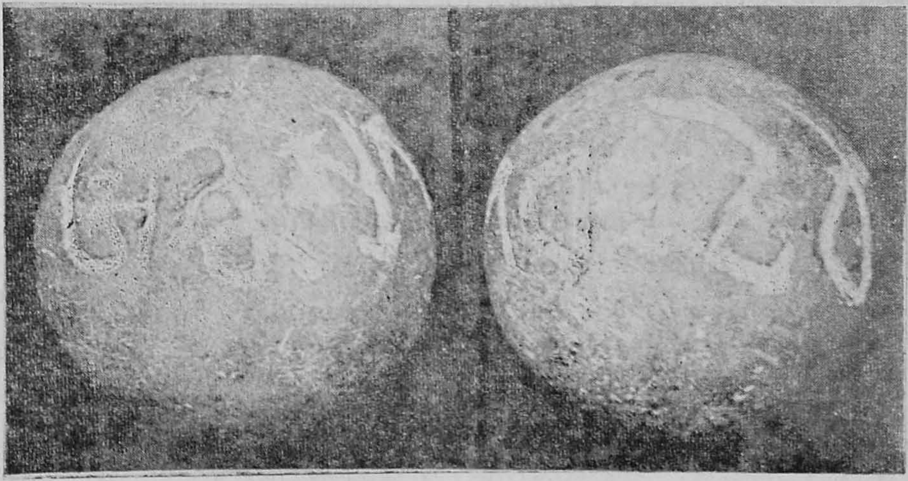
7 Numerous terracotta and stone balls of different sizes and a large number of arrow-heads of bone and iron have been dug out from N. B P. level by the side of a defensive wall at Champānagar (or Nathnagar) in the Bhagalpur District of Bihar. The finds are now preserved in the Museum of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University.

8 See *JAIH.*, Vol. III, pts. 1-2, pp. 10ff, plate, Nos. 1-4.

9 A large number of terracotta votive *stūpas* bearing the personal names have been discovered from the ancient site of Vikramaśila at Antichak (Bhagalpur District). These votive *stūpas* bearing the names of different persons seem to have served similar purpose as these of the terracotta balls of Bhelavar. Some of these are now preserved in the Patna University Museum of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna.

TERRACOTTA BALL No. 1

TERRACOTTA BALL No. 2



16. ON SOME INSCRIPTIONS EDITED BY FLEET

K. V. Ramesh

It is but inevitable that pioneers in any field of work will commit, knowingly, and unknowingly as well, errors of omission and commission, particularly in the initial and experimental stages of their exertions. In the field of Indian epigraphical studies John Faithfull Fleet is an acknowledged pioneer and due credit should be given him, at the very outset of this paper, for committing comparatively far less number of mistakes even in those days when Indian epigraphy was much more of a mystery than it now is. And, besides being a great epigraphist, Fleet was humble and pragmatic enough to readily admit that, being human, he had quite often erred. In fact, towards the end of his industrious and, therefore, illustrious innings as an Indologist, he wrote to say—"If life were long enough, I should like to re-edit upto date almost everything that I have published. In all the lines of research in which I have worked, our progress was for a long time very tentative indeed, in some respects it is still so. In such circumstances, it is impossible to avoid making mistakes and I have written much that I should like to correct and something which I should like to cancel altogether. However, I doubt if I shall ever see my way to do much in that direction; new points of urgent interest arise so constantly that it is difficult to go back on past ground, except in the way of incidental and sometimes quite tacit correction. I can only express the hope that writers who may wish to quote me will look to my later writings in preference to earlier ones."[1]

There is in these words of Fleet a lurking fear that his mistakes may after all go undetected, thus minimising the over all value of his contributions to historical researches. It is unfortunate that, to a great extent, Fleet's fear has come true mainly because scholars have all along taken his writings for granted. If I may make a confession, even professional epigraphists who are time and again caustically branded as *randhr-ānvēshins* or habitual fault-finders, raise their eye brows in disapprobation when ȃnyone makes bold to question Fleet's readings and interpretations. Nevertheless, impelled by a desire to set right the few errors committed by Fleet, which he himself could not rectify for want of time, and also, perhaps, unconsciously succumbing to the inherent fault-finding nature of the professional epigraphist in me, I have often examined and re-examined many of the inscriptions edited by Fleet and the interpretations offered by him and I have, in that process, detected a few mistakes here and there, most of them of no serious consequence. I must concede that in pursuing this rather difficult and unpleasant task, I have drawn inspiration and courage from my vocational preceptor, the much respected Dr. G. S. Gai who, by re-examining and re-editing[2] the British Museum plates of Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III, eight long decades after they had been originally edited[3] by Fleet, has most effectively, though not for the first time, demonstrated the utility of subjecting Fleet's writings to close scrutiny. Those

who are in constant touch with epigraphical researches and publications know only too well that Dr. Gai has made a very consequential contribution to our knowledge of the chronology of Gōvinda III's southern campaigns by pointing out that what Fleet had wrongly read as *Dantiganame geḷdu* in line 7 of the British Museum plates is in reality *Dantigana mēgeḷdu.* Following in the footsteps of Dr. Gai, I have chosen for discussion in this paper a handful of inscriptions edited by Fleet, suggesting improvements and emendations to his readings and interpretations in the belief that thus rendering his contributions more perfect and more useful will be the best form of tribute one can pay to his revered memory. The rare errors committed by Fleet and included for discussion here fall into two categories, namely 1) wrong readings of inscriptional text resulting in misinterpretations or no interpretation and 2) correct readings of inscriptional texts which have been wrongly interpreted.

Proceeding in chronological order, I will first take up for discussion the Chipḷūṇ plates[4] of Pulakēśin II edited by Fleet eighty years ago. A particular passage occurring in the *praśasti* portion of those plates has been read and translated by Fleet as follows:-

> *Vātāpyāḥ prathama-vidhātuḥ anēk-ādhvar-āvabhṛitha-snāna-samārdrī-kṛita-puṇyamūrttēḥ sarva-maṅgal-āyatanasya vallabha-nṛipatēḥ kīrtyā yuktasya Kīrttivarmaṇaḥ,* i.e.,

'of Kīrttivarman (I), the first maker of Vātāpi, whose pious form was thoroughly well-moistened by ablutions performed after celebrating many sacrifices, who was the abode of all auspiciousness, who was the king of favourites (*vallabha-nṛipati*) and who was endowed with fame (*kīrtyā yuktaḥ*).' Accepting Fleet's translation and subsequent conclusions[5] Nilakanta Sastri says[6], "In the inscriptions of his son Pulakēsi II he (i.e., Kīrtivarman I) is called the first maker of Vātāpi ...... Vātāpi having become the capital under Pulakēsin I, his son must be taken to have adorned it by the construction of temples and in other ways." This is incorrect. The mere embellisher of a city cannot rightfully claim to be its *prathama-vidhātṛi.* On the other hand, besides the Badami rock cliff inscription of Pulakēśin I, which had not been brought to light during the life-time of Fleet, there is overwhelming evidence to show that not only the Vātāpi Chalukyas (e.g., theAihoḷe inscription of Pulakēśin II: *Polekēśī yaḥ śrit-Ēndukāntirapi Śrī-vāllabhō-py-ayāsīd-Vātāpi-purī-vadhūvaratāṁ*) but also the later Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa (*Vātāpipurī varapatiḥ*) recognised Pulakēśin I as the founder of Vātāpi. Again there is very clear evidence to assert that Pulakēśin I was personally popularly known as *Vallabha*[7]. In the light of these facts, the passage in the Chipḷūṇ plates, above quoted, should be split in two and interpreted as follows:-

> *Vātāpyāḥ prathama-vidhātuḥ*
> *anēk-ādhvar-āvabhṛitha-snāna-*
> *samārdrīkṛita-puṇyamūrttēḥ*
> *sarva-maṅgal-āyatanasya Vallabha-*
> *nṛipatēḥ,* i. e.,

'of Vallabha-nṛipati, *i.e.*, Pulakēśin I, the first maker of Vātāpi, whose pious form was thoroughly well-moistened by ablutions performed after celebrating many sacrifices and who was the abode of all auspiciousness" and [*Vallabha-nṛipatēḥ*] *kīrtyā yuktasya Kīrttivarmaṇaḥ,* i. e., 'of Kīrttivarman (I) who was endowed with the fame of [his father] Vallabha-nṛipati, i. e., Pulakēśin I.'

By thus correctly understanding and interpreting the above passage, we can avoid Fleet's mistake of attributing Pulakēśin I's credits to his son Kīrttivarman I.

There is, on the wall of the gateway of the Durgā temple at Aihoḷe, an undated Kannaḍa stone inscription[8] of the Vātāpi Chalukya emperor Vikramāditya II (733/34-746/47 A. D.). After introducing the ruler in the usual fashion of the stone inscriptions of the Vātāpi Chalukyas, the epigraph in question records the remission of certain tax incomes to the Sun god. Fleet had read and translated that part of the text as follows:-

"*Rēvaḍibaddar-Āṭada-Āḷekomara-Siṅgana dēgulada Āditya-bhaṭārage koṭṭudu*",

i. e. "the gift of Rēvaḍibadda.... to the venerable Āditya of the temple of Āṭada-Āḷekomara-Siṅga."

Fleet further elucidated the name of the buil. der of the temple to mean 'Āḷekomara-Siṅga of the games' (*Āṭada*). In fact, however, the relevant portion of the inscriptional text actually reads :—

" *Rēvaḍi baḍḍa-rāüḷa āḷe Komarasiṅgana dēgulada Āditya-bhaṭaraṅge koṭṭudu*",i.e,

"the gift made to the god Āditya of the temple of Komarasiṅga by Rēvaḍi who was a dministering the *baḍḍa-rāüḷa* tax."

It is clear that Fleet's mistake had resulted from his wrong identification of the vowel *u* in *baḍḍa-rāüḷa* as *ṭa* resulting in the misreading *baddar-Āṭada*. It is well known that the tax *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa* finds frequent mention in a number of Kannaḍa inscriptions of the 10th-12th centuries A. D. and that important officials were entrusted with its levy and administration. By setting right the error committed by Fleet, we learn for the first time that the prevalence of the *vaḍḍa-rāüḷa* tax goes back to the middle of the 8th century, even during the period of the Vātāpi Chalukyas.

Nearly nine decades ago Fleet brought to light an interesting copper-plate inscription[9] of the reign of Eastern Chālukya Vishṇuvardhana V (847-49 A. D.), stated to have been obtained from a place called 'Ahadanakaram' in the former Madras Presidency. Engraved in Telugu-Kannaḍa characters of the 9th century A. D., the text of this charter is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Telugu. While editing this grant in the *Indian Antiquary* Fleet had confessed that he was not able to get the Telugu portion of the the text translated. Thus, though, being an excellent epigraphist, Fleet had deciphered the Telugu portion of the text to near-perfection, he was not able to offer any interpretation and hence missed the historical importance of that copper plate inscription. In the decades that followed, Vēṭūri Prabhakara Sastri, Kundūri Iswaradatt, Chilukūri Narayana Rao, Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma and K. V. Lakshmanarao, made critical studies of the charter in question and all of them, like Fleet, failed to interpret the Telugu text meaningfully and to lay bare the importance of its contents. On a careful examination, it is now found that the Ahadanakaram plates record the fact that the *ūri-svāmuḷ*, i.e., the *svāmis* of the town called Pṛithvīpallava-paṭṭana, granted, on behalf of their town, to the deity Karigalla-Vaḍavaru (= *bhaṭāra*?) of the same town the income from the taxes *ari*, *ḍagu-teṟe*, *siddhāyabu* and *daṇḍa-daśāparādhabu*,leviable on the residents of Reṇḍuvāḍala-paṭṭana. While mentioning persons who had acted as witnesses to the deed of the grant, most of the names bear

the appellation either of *mahanabiyuḷ*, *mahanabhiyuḷ* and *mahānavila* or *mahāsatthavuḷ*, *mahāsartthaval* and *mahāsartthavaḷa*. While Fleet left these terms unexplained, later scholars ventured to suggest that they stood respectively for Sanskrit *mahadabhijña* and *mahāsattva*. However, when studied in the light of the fact that the record in question mentions Pṛithvīpallava-paṭṭana and Reṇḍuvāḍala-paṭṭaṇa which were mercantile townships as is clearly borne out by the *paṭṭana*-ending in their names, it may be safely concluded that *mahanabiyuḷ* and *mahasatthavuḷ* and their variant forms are respectively the corrupt and colloquial forms of *mahanavika* and *mahāsarthavaha*. A certain Naraḷōka is described there in both as *mahanabhiyuḷ* and *mahasatthavuḷ* and another, Nandi-mahānavil is described as the the son of Karigala-Pṛithvī-mahāsatthavaḷ all of which go to show that these appellations had not at that time become more hereditary surnames unlike in the case of *seṭṭi* and that they were indicative of actual callings. These appellations also prove the important point that the findspot of the plates, obviously some township along the southern coast-line of Andhra Pradesh, was then flourishing as an inland and overseas trade centre. Another interesting point which did not make much sense to Fleet and the scholars who came after him was the mention of Jashṭi-pendaṭṭaṟṟa as the engraver of the copper plate inscription. In the inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Taḷakāḍu and of the Bāṇas, we find mention of some engravers with the appellation *perundaṭṭāṟa*, the Dravidian version of Sanskrit *mahāsuvarṇakāra*. *Pendaṭṭaṟṟa* being only a corrupt form of *perundaṭṭāṟa*, it is obvious that Jashṭi, who engraved the text, was a *mahāsuvarṇakara* by his profession and designation, The provenance of the record, the reign in which it was issued, the place-name Pṛithvīpallava-paṭṭana and the designation *pendaṭṭaṟṟa* all go to show the close contacts maintained in those days between the neighbouring kingdoms of the south. More important, a careful re-examination of the Ahadanakaram plates, given up by Fleet as hopeless, pays us rich dividends as far as our understanding of the commercial and social life of South India in the ninth century is concerned.[10]

I next take up for discussion an undated Kannaḍa inscription[11] of the ninth century engraved on the side wall of the Bhūtanātha temple at Bādāmi. While editing this brief inscription in four lines, Fleet read the imprecatory portion in the last two lines and translated the same as follows:—

ad=aṟapattu nandiy-akku dāṭōn dēvasvada-dōshadoḷ sirkkuvār, i.e.,

'Let it be (as sacred as the gift of) sixty Nandis. Whosoever transgresses *(dāṭōn=dāṭidōn)* against it shall incur the guilt of an offence against the property of a god.' However, the two lines in question actually read and mean as follows:—

adaṟa pattan-ondiya kuḍādōn dēvasva-dōshadoḷ sirkkuvār, i.e.,

'He who fails to remit (*kuḍādōn*) one tenth (*pattan-ondi*) of the produce of the gift land would incur the sin of having misappropriated the gift made to the god.' Thus we have here the recurrence of the technical term *pattan-ondi* which occurs as *patt-ondi* in the Halmiḍi inscription,[12] generally acknowledged to be the earliest so far known Kannaḍa epigraph.

Before I conclude my paper, I would like to discuss briefly two Kannaḍa inscriptions of the 11th century, edited by Fleet

in the *Epigraphia Indica*. One of them,[13] dated in 1064 A. D. and belonging to the reign of Chāḷukya Sōmēśvara I, is engraved on a slab near the Sūryanārāyaṇa shrine on the Jaṭinga Rāmēśvara hill, Chitradurga District. Lines 16-20 of this epigraph have been read and translated by Fleet as follows:

> *Śrī Rāmēśvara-dēvargge naivēdyakkaṁ khaṇḍasphuṭitakkaṁ paṟukeṟaga-bhōgada sūḷeyarggaṁ maḷima-tapōdhanargge vidyādānakkaṁ Dēvēndra-paṇḍitargge dhārā-pūrvakaṁ māḍi*, i.e.,

'gift made with libations of water to Dēvēndra-paṇḍita, for the god Rāmēśvara for oblations, for the repair of whatever might become broken or torn, for the dancing girls belonging to......(here, since Fleet could not make any sense out of his reading *paṟukeṟaga-bhōgada*, he had left a blank), and for imparting education to the.......(here again, Fleet has failed to translate what has been read by him as *maḷima*) ascetics.

The correct reading of this portion of the text, as is clearly revealed by an examination of the facsimile of the inscription given by Fleet himself, is as follows:

> *Śri-Rāmēśvara-dēvargge naivēdyakkaṁ khaṇḍa-sphuṭitakkaṁ paṟekāṟaṁgaṁ bhōgada sūḷeyarggam alliya tapō-dhanarggeṁ (rggaṁ) vidyā-dānakaṁ Dēvēndra-paṇḍitargge dhārā-purvvakaṁ māḍi*, i. e.,

'gift made with libations of water to Dēvēndra-paṇḍita, for offering oblations to the god Rāmēśvara, for repairs to the temple of the same deity, for maintaining the temple drummer (*paṟekāṟa*) and the dancing girls appointed to entertain the deity (*bhōgada-sūḷeyar*), for the maintenance of the ascetics there (*alliya*) and for the imparting of education,' (and not 'for imparting education to the ascetics' as translated by Fleet on the strength of his reading *tapōdhanargge vidyādānakkam*. The actual reading is *tapōdhanarggeṁ* which needs to be corrected to *tapōdhanarggaṁ*).

The other inscription[14] dated in 1072 A.D. and written in the administration of the Chāḷukya prince Trailōkyamalla-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permmāḍi Jayasiṁhadēva, also from Jaṭiṅga Rāmēśvara, reads in lines 7 and 8:—

Goṁdavāḍiya poṟa-vīḍinal= sukhadin rājyam geyyuttire. Fleet has taken *Goṁdavāḍiya poṟa-vīḍinal* to mean 'at the camp outside Goṁdavāḍi' which, if accepted, would imply that Goṁdavāḍi has been only incidentally mentioned in order that the royal camp outside could be properly identified. On the other hand, we have here in the mention of *poṟa-vīḍu* a technical term much in the fashion of the better known *nelevīḍu* (e. g., *Kalyāṇapurada nelevīḍinal*, *Jayantīpurada-nelevīḍinal*, etc., in which Kalyāṇapura and Jayantīpura are themselves the royal headquarters) and *payaṇada-vīḍu* (e.g. *Ponuguppeya-ppayaṇavīḍinoḷu* in which Ponuguppe is itself the royal transit camp). On this analogy, we must conclude that Goṁdavāḍi itself served on the date of the inscription as the prince's royal camp, *poṟa-vīḍu* technically denoting the fact that Goṁdavāḍi was only a headquarters other than the regular royal capital. Thus *Goṁdavāḍiya poṟavīḍinal* should be understood in the sense of 'at Goṁdavāḍi, the outer camp' and not in the sense of 'at the camp outside Goṁdavāḍi.'

Having, of my own volition, chosen to present in these pages this paper dealing with some of the errors committed by Fleet,

I was debating within myself for days together on how to conclude this paper. To offer an apology to the memory of Fleet or to the elderly scholars in the field would be to defeat the very aim and end of my exertions. I, therefore, finally decided to conclude my paper with a humble appeal to all up and coming epigraphists to unhesitatingly, yet very carefully, subject all the writings of the earlier epigraphists including Fleet to thorough and searching re-examination so that their mistakes, could be set right and the value of their researches enhanced. If those great scholars had made mistakes, it was only because, owing to the rudimentary nature of epigraphical collections and studies in their days, they lacked enough materials for comparison, contrast and corroboration. We no longer suffer from this handicap and are duty bound to bring upto date the great legacy those savants have left behind for our benefit.

Notes :

1 *Eminent Orientalists, Indian, European, American,* I Edn., Madras, p. 217.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 327-32.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp 125-27 and plate.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp 50-53 and plate.

5 *Dyn. Kan. Dist* (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II), p. 345.

6 *The Early History of the Deccan* (Ed. Yazdani), p. 208.

7 For more information on these points, see *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Dharwar, 1971), pp. 215-21.

8 *Ind Ant.*, Vol VIII, p. 286 and plate.

9 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 185 ff

10 For a detailed discussion on the Ahadanakaram plates, see *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (*Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*), Vol. I (Mysore, 1975), pp. 124-31.

11 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 62 and plate opp. p 63.

12 *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1936, pp. 72 ff.

13 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 213-14 and plate opp. p. 212.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 215 and pl. opp. p. 214.

[Paper presented at the Seminar on Fleet conducted by the Dept. of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, Karnatak University, Dharwar in 1976].

17. BELMANNU PLATES OF ALUVARASA II

G. S. Gai

These plates were discovered about 35 years ago by one Shri Madhvaraya Bhat while carrying out the renovation work of the Durgāparamēśvarī temple at Beḷmaṇṇu, a village in the Karkala Taluk of South Kanara District, Karnataka State. They were found encased in a stone-casket buried in the *prākāra* of that temple. It was only about five years ago that Dr. P. Gururaja Bhatt, a research scholar belonging to that District, was able to secure these plates and bring them to the notice of the scholars for the first time. Dr. Gururaja Bhatt was good enough to make the plates available to me for study and publication for which my thanks are due to him.

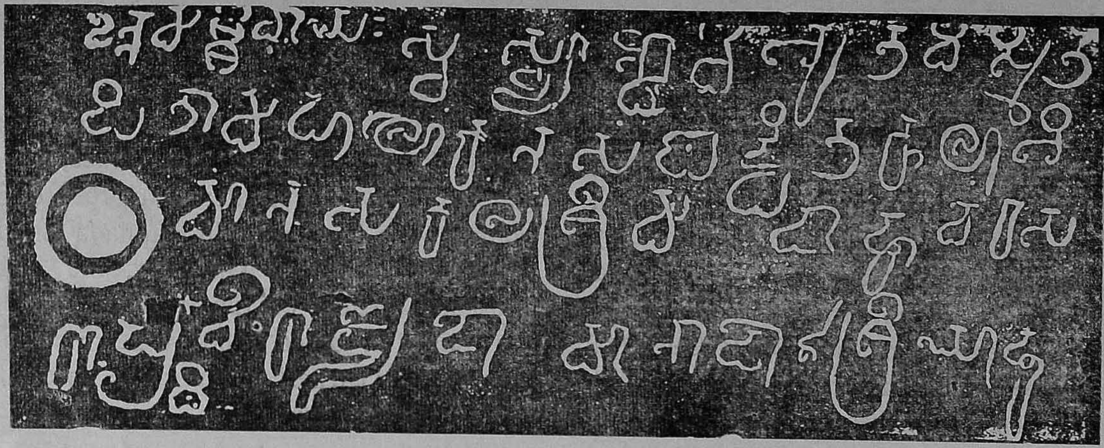
The set contains five plates but only four plates are engraved while the fifth plate is blank and has been attached apparently to protect the writing on the second side of the fourth plate. There is a seal attached to the set which contains the figure of a pair of fish. The characters are early Kannaḍa of about the 8th century A. D. and the language is also Kannaḍa (prose) except half a Sanskrit verse in the last line. Early Kannaḍa forms with the genetive suffix -*ā* in -*Āḷuvarasarā*, *puradā* and *Māṇidēvanā* and locative suffix -*uḷ* as in *bāginuḷ* are found in this record. Of lexical interest is the expression *pāṇi-grahaṇa* in line 8 which is used in the sense of a gift, grant or award. I have not come across such a usage of the word in any other epigraph. Probably the hand of the donee, a representative of the *sabhā* in this case, was held by the donor and the promise of the grant was made.

The charter is not dated but on grounds of palaeography and linguistic features noticed above, it may be referred to the middle of the 8th century A. D. And hence, this epigraph may be considered as the earliest copper-plate inscription in Kannaḍa language discovered so far. Till now, the British Museum plates[1] of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III, dated in 804 A. D., was considered as the earliest copper-plate inscription in Kannaḍa language.

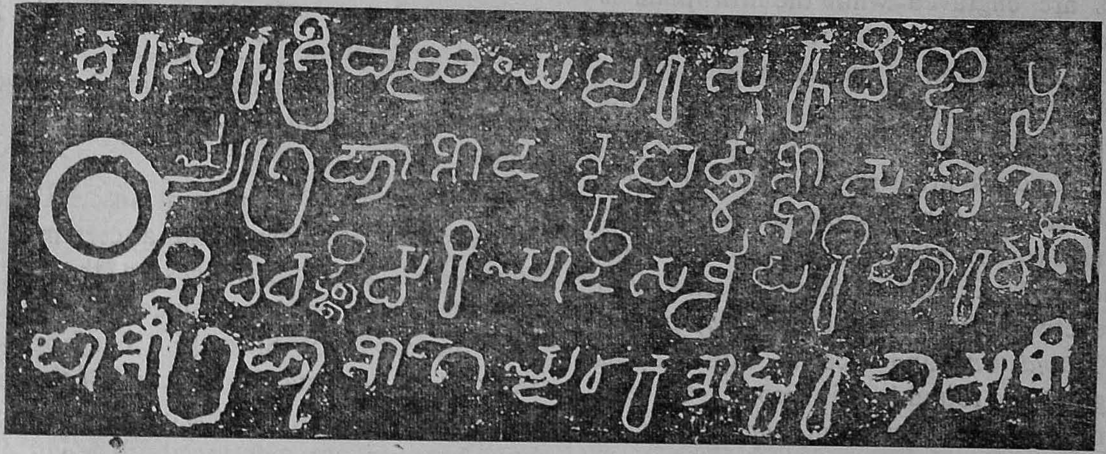
The inscription refers itself to the reign of Āḷuvarasa and does not give any information of historical importance. This Āḷuvarasa is obviously the ruler of the Āḷupa dynasty, and, from the period to which we have assigned the record, he may be identified with Āḷuvarasa II who is stated to have ruled in *c.* 730-65 A. D.[2] This is the second inscription of Āḷuvarasar, the only other record belonging to him being the Udayāvara inscription[3] which is also undated.

The object of the present inscription is to grant, by Āḷuvarasa and a certain Eṟeyapparasa, similar privileges to the *sabhā* of Beḷamaṇṇu as were granted to Śivavaḷḷi i.e., the *sabhā* of Śivavaḷḷi. Eṟeyapparasa referred to here may be the chief of the Beḷmaṇṇu region. The details of the privileges are, however, not mentioned. The gift was made free from all the encumbrances. The grant was caused to be protected by the learned people (*bhaṭṭar*) of Chokkapāḍi situated in Bāgi belonging to Māṇidēva of Kantāpura. And it was entrusted to the charge of Bōygavarmma of Kāpu, Nanda of

FIRST PLATE



SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE



Bēḷa, another Nanda of Kuḷunoṛa, and Mīdini and Urapaṇa of Sāntaura.

Of the place-names occurring in the record, besides Beḷmaṇṇu, the find-spot of the plates mentioned above, the following names may be identified as under :[4]

Kāpu: This is a place of the same name in Udipi Taluk and situated 8 miles to the south of Udipi along the Udipi-Mangalore road ;

Śivavaḷḷi : this is identified with modern Udipi and its surroundings and is considered to be a sacred place from early times;

Chokkapāḍi : It is a village in the Udipi Taluk, situated 5 miles to the south-east of Udipi ;

Kuḷunoṛa : This place may be identified with modern Koḍandur situated just 2 miles to the north-east of Beḷmaṇṇu ;

Bēḷa : It may be identified with modern Bōḷa situated 3 miles to the north-east of Beḷmaṇṇu ;

Kantāpura : This place may be identified with modern Kantāvara situated 6 miles to the south-east of Beḷmaṇṇu ;

Sāntaura : This may be modern Santūru, a village situated 3 miles to the south-west of Beḷmaṇṇu ;

Vāranāśi : This is well-known Vārāṇasi or Benares.

The registration of grant details is followed by benedictory and imprecatory passages concerning respectively the protection and flouting of the grant registered. Towards the end, the goddess Vindhyavāsinī is eulogised and reference is made to the scions of the Pāṇḍya family, i. e. to the Āḷupas. The Shiggaon plates of Chalukya Vijayāditya, issued in 707 A. D., contain the earliest so far known inscriptional reference to the Āḷupas as belonging to the Pāṇḍya stock.

TEXT[6]

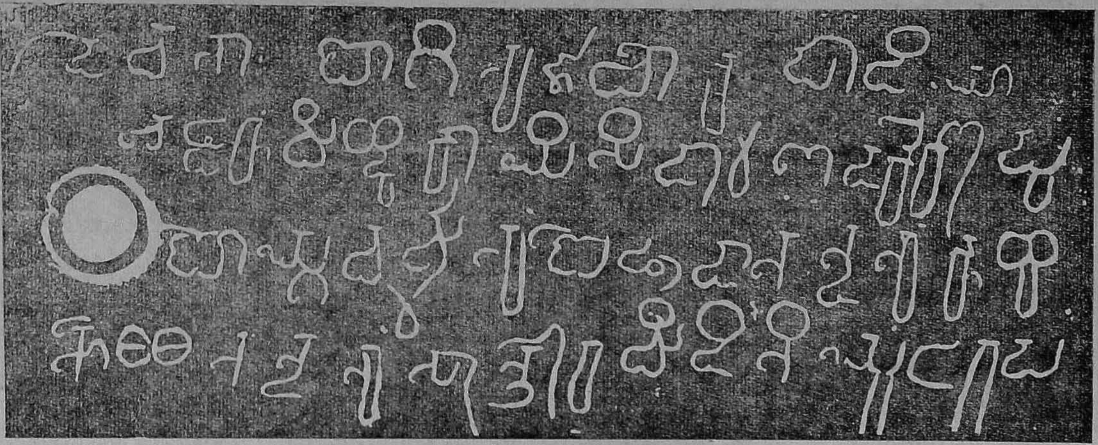
FIRST PLATE

1 Ōn= namaś= Śivāyaḥ(ya) [।*] Svasthyāṇḍavirbhuta vismita-
2 Pitāmaha-lōkana[7] saṁba(va)rddhita-kul-ābhi-
3 māna-sakala-śrīmad= Āḷuvarasa-
4 rā pṛithivī-rājyado[ḷ*] mā-nāḍo[ḷ] śrīy-Āḷu-

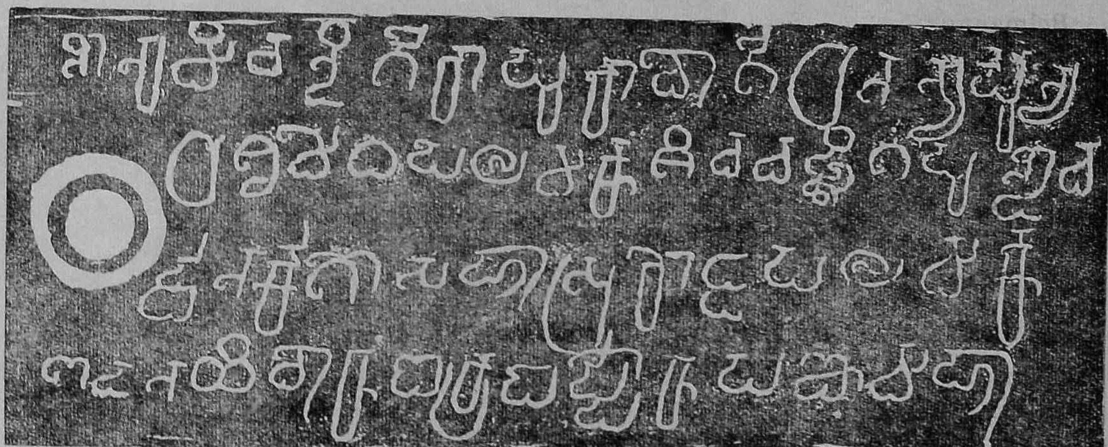
SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE

5 varasaruṁ śrī Eṛeyapparasarum= iḷdu sū-
6 ryya-grahā(ha)ṇadandu Beḷmaṇṇa-sabhege
7 Sivavaḷḷi mariyādi sarvva-parihāram= āge
8 pāṇigrahā(ha)ṇa geydar [।*] Kantāpuradā Māṇi-

SECOND PLATE : SECOND SIDE



THIRD PLATE : FIRST SIDE



SECOND PLATE: SECOND SIDE

9 dēvanā Bāginuḷ Chokkapāḍiyā
10 bhaṭṭarum= iḷdu kāyisidār idarke kāpu
11 Bōygavarmmanuṁ Bēḷadā Nandanuṁ Kuḷu-
12 noṟa Nandanuṁ Sāntaura Mīdiniyuṁ Urapa-

THIRD PLATE : FIRST SIDE

13 ṇanum= ivandirge Kāpu kāvorge anantyaṁ punyaṁ[8]
14 aśvamēdha-pa(pha)lam= akkuṁ Śivavaḷḷigaṁ Puṇḍa(ṇḍra)va-
15 rddhanarkkaṁ gō-sahā(ha)sra koṭṭa pa(pha)lam= akkuṁ
16 idan= aḷivōruṁ ba(va)kra barppōruṁ pañcha-mahā-

THIRD PLATE: SECOND SIDE

17 pātakar= appōr irppattondu narakha(ka)duḷ= irppār
18 Vāraṇāśiyuṁ Śivavaḷḷiyum– aḷida pāpa-
19 m= akkuṁ divya-sā(sa)hā(ha)sra-varishaṁ vṛishṭeyuḷ[9]
20 puḷuv= āgirppār kshayam= āgi puṭṭi navevār

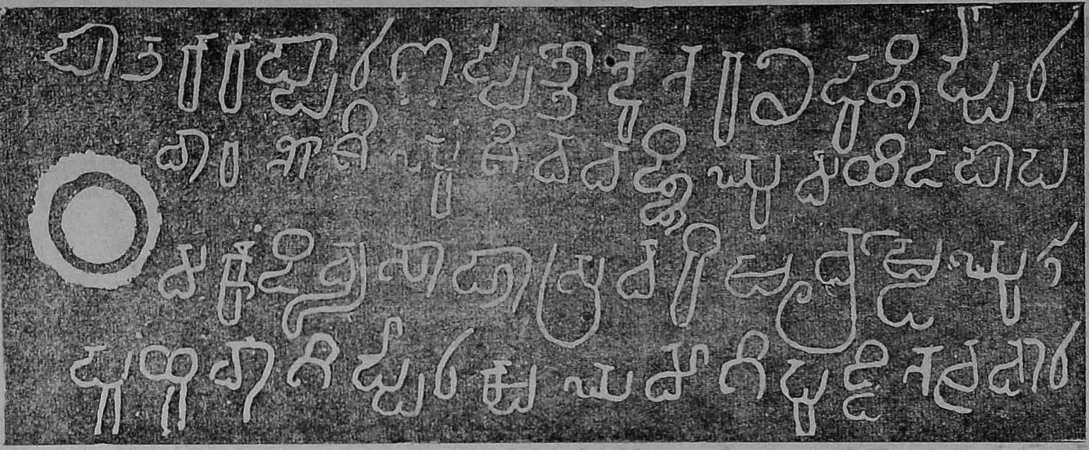
FOURTH PLATE: FIRST SIDE

21 idan= aḷivalli sāvavarge(rga)ḷ Indra-lōkaman-ni-
22 ḍiyāḷdirppār Atinute Vivdhya(ndhya)-vāsi-
23 ni mahā-muni-sēvite Brahma-mukhyarānn[10]
24 kshiti-pati kāvōḷ= akke nija-dharmma-pararkka-

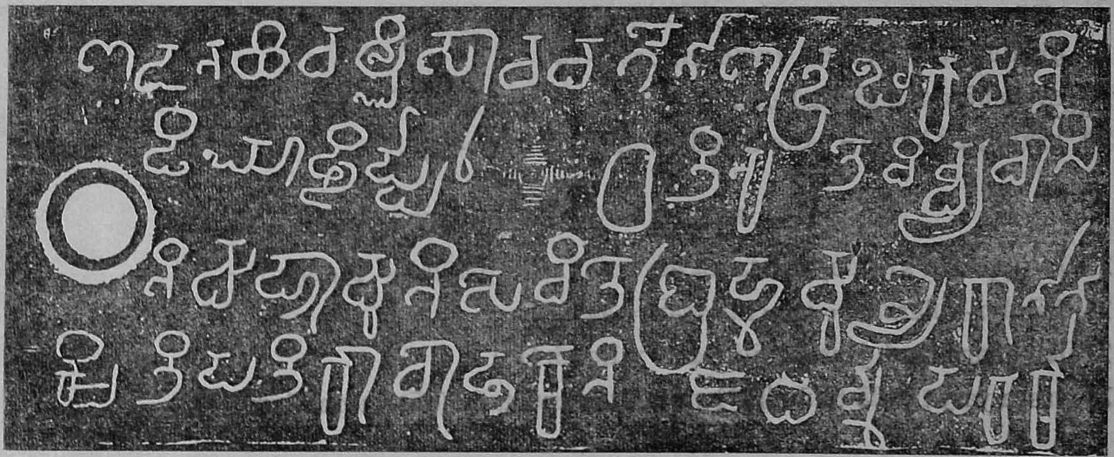
FOURTH PLATE: SECOND SIDE

25 ḷ= appōrān kṛi(kra)tu-śatam= aśvamēdha-pa(pha)lam= eyduge
26 Pāṇḍya-kularkkaḷ= int= atiśayam= āgi ni-
27 lke dharmmaṁ jagaduḷ ādityan= uḷḷinaṁ [|*]
28 yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[ḥ*] ya(ta)sya tasya tathā(dā) pa(pha)laṁ [|*]

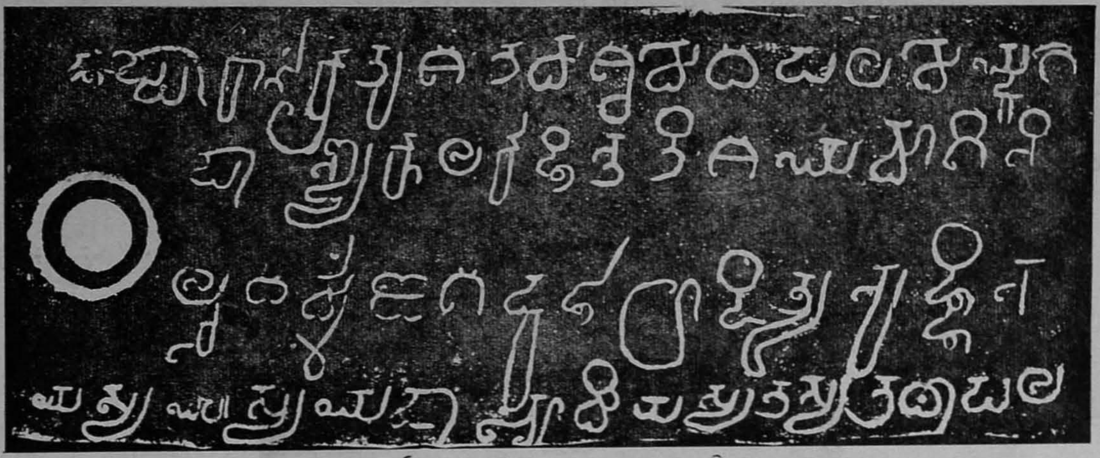
THIRD PLATE : SECOND SIDE



FOURTH PLATE : FIRST SIDE



FOURTH PLATE : SECOND SIDE



Notes :

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 327 ff.

2 K. V. Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara*, p. 96.

3 *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 279. He is also referred to in the Mallam (Nellore District, Andhra Pradesh) inscription of Pallava king Nandivarman II (see, K. V. Ramesh, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63).

4 I am thankful to Dr. P. Gururaja Bhatt for his suggestions in this regard.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 317 ff.

6 From the original and the impressions.

7 Read *svasty= aṇḍ-āvirbhūta-vismita-Pitāmah-āvalōkana.*

8 Read *ananta-puṇyaṁ.*

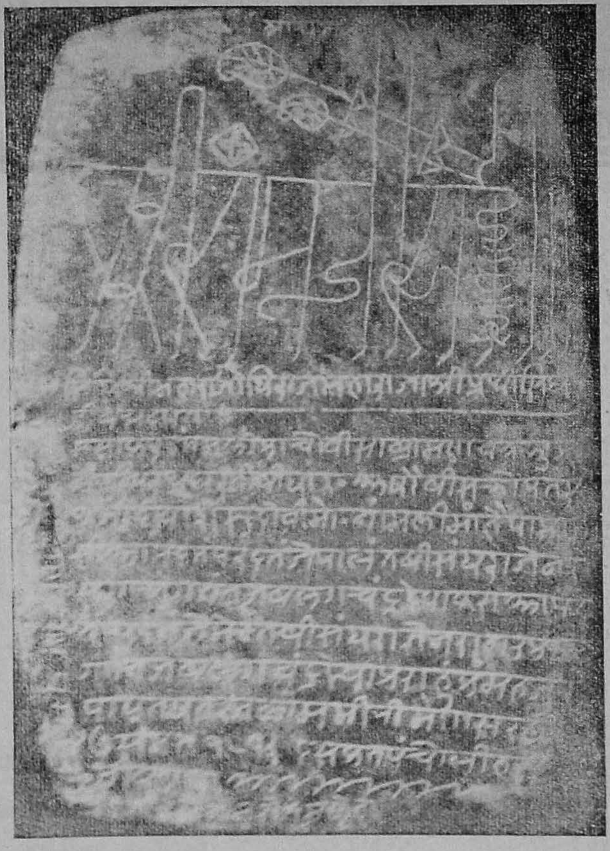
9 Read *vishṭiyuḷ.*

10 This *akshara n* is redundant.

18. NAMLI GRANT OF PRITHVISINGH OF RATLAM, SAMVAT 1812

S. K. Bhatt

During my visit to Ujjain in December, 1974, a copper plate was brought to my notice by a Choubisa Brahmin whose ancestors were given a land grant at Mauja Namali near Ratlam by Shri Pṛithvīsiṅgh, the then ruler of Ratlam state.[1] The size of the copper plate is 12″x7.6″. It weighs 495 gms. The reading of the text is as follows :



NAMLI GRANT OF PRITHVISINGH

TEXT

1 Srī-Rāmajī[2] [॥*]
2 Śrī-Rāmajī sahī[3] [॥*]
3 Sidhi (Siddham) [।*] Śrī-mahārājādhirāja mahārāja Śrī-Pradhīsigha-
4 jī vachanāt
5 Mayāphar Nāṁmalī kā chōvīsā brāmaṇa Chatrabhuj
6 nē punāradh (puṇyārth) dhartī bīghā 20 ashair bīs Bhōpatsī-
7 ghajī dīvārī su dīvī mō Nāṁmalī māṁ hai pāsā ja
8 sī [।*] Āpadataṁ paradata jē pālaṁta bīsadharā jē narā
9 sarag bhugataṁta jabalag-chaṁdra dēvākarā [।*] Āpada-
10 taṁ paradataṁ jē mēṭata bīsadharā jē narā naraka bhu-
11 gataṁta jabalag chaṁdra-dēvākara [॥*] hukaṁma hajur
12 pāya tashat Ratlāṁ mītī mēgāsar badi
13 7 Saṁmat 1812 [।*] daskat paṁchōlī Har-
14 jīvaṇarā [।*]
15 saunā[r] Narōttaṁ shōdā [॥*]

Thus it speaks that by order of Mahārājādhirāja Mahārāja Śrī Pṛithvīsinghji, Bhūpatsingh gave a religious grant of 20 *bīghā* of land in Nāṁmalī to Chatrabhuj, a Choubīsa Brahmin of Nāṁmalī in Saṁvat 1812.The copper plate contains all the traditional oaths about continuing the grant to the donor and consequences of its violation. Those who will continue the grant will enjoy abode in Heaven and those who will violate or discontinue will go to Hell. Issued by order of the throne of Ratlam on Mṛigaśira badi 7, Saṁvat 1812, signed by *pañchōli* Harjīvan and engraved by goldsmith Narōttam.

The style of engraving the plate seems to be quite peculiar. It resembles to some extent the Mewar style. As for the language it is a mixture of Mewari (Ratlam being near to Banswara and Pratapgarh), Malvi and Persian.[4] The fan-like symbol seems to be a representation of Lord Ēkliṅgji which is sometimes found on the crude coins of Sailana and Jaora States. The legend *sahī* means either original or signed one.

The Rajas of the erstwhile State of Ratlam were the Rāṭhōrs of Sūryavaṁśī stock to which the Mahārājas of Jōdhpur, Bikaner, Kishangarh and Idar belonged. Though the plate mentions the title of the ruler of Ratlam as *Mahārājādhirāja*, yet, as far as the legal status was concerned, it appeared hardly to be so. As a matter of fact in Rajputana there had been a tradition even to address a petty Jamindar as Mahārāja and so on and so forth.

Pṛithvīsingh as referred to in the plate was the ruler of Ratlam at the time of issue of the grant. After the death of Mānsingh (1716-1743 A.D.) in 1743 A.D., his son Pṛithvīsingh succeeded to the throne of Ratlam. During his time the State began to be overrun by the Marāṭhas. Pṛithvīsingh died in

1773 A. D., after a troubled rule of thirty years. He was succeeded by Padamsingh who ruled upto 1800 A. D.[5]

Mauja Namli referred in the grant was a jagir granted in 1725 A. D. by Rājā Mānsingh of Ratlam to Bhōpatsingh Songara.[6] Bhōpatsingh mentioned in the copper plate seems to be the same individual. Nāmlī is a railway station on Western Railway, 14 miles north of Ratlam Junction.

Pañchōli was the designation of Revenue Officer equal to *Kānuṅgō* of Mughal times. The grant was signed by Harjīvan, the then *pañchōli* of the State. The plate, curiously enough, also bears the name Narōttam, the name of the goldsmith who had engraved it.

In the light of the fact that copper plates of Indian Native States, specially of Central India, have not been noticed much and historical material available being very scarce, the importance of the above copper-grant cannot be minimised. It throws sufficient light on the style of issuing grants in Central Indian Native states. It appears to be the first copper plate of Ratlam State of the 18th century which has been noticed so far.

Notes:

1 Ratlam was the chief Rajput State in Malwa, lying between 23° 6' and 23° 33' N and longitude 74° 31' and 75° 17' E, surrounded by the territories of Jaora and Pratapgarh on the north, Gwalior on the east, Dhar and Kushalgarh and part of Indore on the south and Kushalgarh and Banswada on the west- Captain C. E. Luards' Ratlam State Gazetteer (Text and Tables), (1908), p. 1.

2 Engraved on the top in the centre.

3 Engraved in big characters below the 1st line and two fan-like symbols.

4 The words *sahī*, *vachanāt*, *punaradh*, the style of writing *kha* as *sha* and the traditional way of recording oaths all reveal Mewar influence. The expression *Hukum Hajur Paya Takhat* betrays the Persian influence and the words *khōdā* (engraved) and *daskat*, Malvi influence.

5 Vide *Ratlam State Gazetteer*, pp. 1-3.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 148-49.

19. LOCAL MEASURES SEEN IN THE KOLLURMADAM PLATES-Kollam Year 364

P. M. Rajan Gurukkal

This paper attempts to ascertain some of the popular measures used by the people of Kerala during the early medieval period with the help of the Kollūrmaḍam copper plates, otherwise known as Dēvidēvēśvaram inscription.[1] The Kollūrmaḍam plates, dated Kollam year 364 (1189 A. D.) consist of 284 lines, inscribed in Vaṭṭeḻuttu script. The language used is old Malayāḷam which abounds in archaic Tuḷu and Kanarese sounds.[2] This inscription belongs to Udayamārttāṇḍavarma who was the king of Vēṇāḍ in the 12th century A. D. It is understood from the inscription that Udayamārttāṇḍavarma was only renewing the old text of Śrīvallabhan Kōta, at the request of temple committee, into its present form. The component parts of the text constitute the details of Dēvidēvēśvaram temple-property (*dēvasvam*) and the pattern of Brahmin settlements (*brahmasvam*).

The text speaks of a few Brahmin families sparsely distributed in the suburb of the Dēvidēvēśvaram temple, and their role in the better functioning of temple management. It elaborately deals with various castes of people associated with the temple, their obligations and responsibilities to the temple and specifies the exact measurements of articles to be submitted for the conduct of festivals, ceremonies and daily rituals in the temple. For the strict maintenance of the respective duties of various families, the text enumerates the details of punishments to the defaulters, with a varying intensity in the order of their castes and rank.

Several measures and weights are discerned in those parts of the inscription where it specifically states the quantity of grain or oil to be given and the amount of fine or tax to be paid in the name of the temple. Most of the inscriptions of early medieval Kerala mention these weights and measures, although certain variations are noted in their ratio-proportions and capacity.[3] A measure had a varying capacity in accordance with its purpose and use in different fields. A particular measure with a definite capacity was variably used by temples, the merchants and the ordinary people, even though the standard capacity was popularly accepted. The *Devasvam* and *Brahmasvam*, while measuring their due, increased the capacity of these measures and while remunerating the servants the capacity marked a relative fall. For instance, *Iḍḍaṅgaḻi*, a measure holding four *naḻi* measured only three *nāḻi* to pay remuneration to servants, whereas it measured a little more than the quantity in the case of temples.

The standard of measures and of a few weights with ratio-proportions can be examined as in the following lines. The measures given below are those found in the Kollūrmaḍam plates and subjected to close examination by me:

Chavaṭu : This was perhaps the smallest single unit, measuring grain and held 360

grains as its capacity. Gundert[4] observed it as equal to one fourth of a pint or sixteen ounces. This measure might have been a bamboo-made one in its earliest form.

Āḷakku : This was a small cylindrical measure of capacity, 1800 grains or five *chavaṭus*.[5] *Poñcha* was another name popular among the then people to mean this measure.

3. *Uḷakku* : Two *āḷākku* constituted one *uḷakku*, a measure of capacity, 360 grains.[6] To begin with, this measure also might have been made of bamboo.

4. *Uri* : This measure, cylindrical and made of bamboo or wood, held 7200 grains[7] as its made of capacity. It was two times the measure, *uḷakku*.

5. *Nāḷi* : Bamboo-made or wooden cylindrical vessel, *nāḷi* was a measure of capacity, 14400 grains[8] or two *uris*.

6. *Iḍaṅgaḷi* : This measure is variously pronounced such as : *iḍaṅgaḷi*, *iḍaṅgali*, *iḍaṅgu*, *iḍaṅgali*, etc. Gundert[9] refers to its constitution, which is two and a half *viral* deep and five and a half *viral* bread. This bomboo vessel was later replaced by wooden pots. This measure held four *nāḷi* or was of capacity 57600 grains.[10]

7. *Maṭa* : This bamboo vessel was equal to an *idaṅgaḷi* or four *nāḷi*, which was commonly used for measuring oil or ghee.[11] Like all other measures this too must have been a bamboo vessel to begin with.

8. *Tūṇi* : Unlike other cylindrical bamboo-made or wooden vessels, *tūṇi*, a measure of capacity, six *nāḷi*, might be a temporarily made cloth bag. My belief is that it might either be the prescribed quantity of grain packed by cloth-piece or a cloth-bag of capacity, six *nāḷi-(kiḷi)*.[12]

The most frequently used weight in the inscription is *palam*,[13] which was equal to 720 to 1120 grains. One *palam* held four *karasam*[14] or twelve *kaḷaiñchu*.[15] *Karsam*, *kāṇam-kaḷaiñchu*, and *paṇam* were weights measur, ing quantity of gold, silver and other precious articles.[16] One *kāṇam* was equal to three *kaḷaiñchu* or 1¼ *paṇaṁ*. Most of these weights and measures are even now found in common use among the tribal people and villagers of relic areas of language.

Notes :

1 *T.A.S.*, Vol. IV; *Kollūrmaḍam Plates.*

2 Burrow and Emeneau : *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary.*

3 *Malayāḷam Lexicon*, Vol. II, pp. 244, 276, 354, 856, 876.

4 *Malayāḷam and English Dictionary*, pp. 350, 547, 339.

5 *Malayāḷam Lexicon.* Vol. II, pp 276, 354, 856, 876.

6 *Ibid*, pp. 876; Gundert, pp. 146.

7 *Idid.*, pp. 797; Gundert, pp. 139.

8 Gundert, p. 547.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 102.

10 *Malayaḷam Lexicon*, Vol. II, pp. 276 ff.

11 *T.A.S.*, Vol. IV, *Kollūrmaḍam Plates*-Plates: second, third and eleventh: 36, 37, 40, 52, 53, 193, 195.

12 Tūṇi is used to measure only grains. *Ibid.*, Plate: First, second, third, fifth and ninth: 13, 15, 43, 76, 80, 159, 164.

13 *Ibid.*, Plate: Third and fourth: 51, 59, 61, 64.

14 Gundert, *Malayāḷam and English Dictionary*, pp. 215 ff.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 227; see also *T.A.S*, Vol. IV, *Kollūrmaḍam Plates*, plate five: 255, 265, 273.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 227, 228; see also *T.A.S.*, Vol. IV, *Kollūrmaḍam Plates*, plate fifteen: 267, 273.

20. A CHOLA TEMPLE IN KARNATAKA

N. S. Ramaswami

"In the east of the Karnataka country is the mountain named Nandi, very lofty and impenetrable, with only one path, filled with *champaka*, *nāraṅga* and *tamāla* (trees). At the very top the huge cliff is adorned with a temple". This is how an inscription, near the Yōganandīśvara temple on the Nandi hills, some thirty miles north of Bangalore, describes that temple. Engraved in Nāgarī characters and dated in 1680 A.D., the epigraph belongs to a time when, in this part of Kolar district, to use its own language, "Śiva-chhatrapati's son Sambhāji-rāṭ is ruling in peace."

The Yōganandīśvara temple deserves study for many reasons. It is one of the Chōḷa temples in Karnataka. While artistically it is not so notable as th Bhōganandīśvara temple at the foot of the hills, the two resemble each other in having evolved with the times to their present size. Comparatively small though the Yōganandīśvara temple is today, it was much smaller when the Chōḷas originally built it. The much bigger temple on the plains began its career in the Bāṇa times, early in the ninth century, and was added to under the Noḷamba Pallavas, the Chōḷas, the Hoysaḷas, the Vijayanagara emperors and the Pāḷegārs.

The early history of this temple is well documented. A copper plate inscription dated 806 A. D. in the 17th year of Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III, mentions the temple of Mahānandīśvara. Another epigraph, belonging to 810 A. D., states explicitly that Ratnāvaḷī, the beloved queen of King Bāṇa Vidyādhara and the mother of Prince Bāṇarar Dadda, built a Śivālaya in Nandi.

This kind of direct testimony is not available for the founding of the Yōganandīśvara temple. But its Chōḷa origins may be deduced not only from its architectural style, the family resemblance between the original shrine of Yōganandīśvara and the Chōḷa additions to the Bhōganandīśvara in the form of Nandi *maṇḍapas* being unmistakable, but also from what may be called incidental Chōḷa epigraphs. The temple on the hill arose in Chōḷa times. It consisted then of Yōganandīśvara shrine with its *navaraṅga*, which was open. In Vijayanagara times the *navaraṅga* was enclosed, the shrine of the goddess built and the two shrines connected with each other by a corridor divided into two *maṇḍapas*.

Two Chōḷa inscriptions testify to the Chōḷa authorship of the temple. One found in Nandi, dated 1049 A. D., states that an officer of Rājādhirāja, Vīra Vichchādira-mūvēnda-vēḷār or Mattūr-uḍaiyār Satti......,"gave, for the god Mahā-Nandīśvaram-uḍaiya-Mahādēvar on Nandi hill in Kalavara-nāḍu of Nigarili-śōḷa-maṇḍalam, a plate of gold weighing by the standard of the city 2¼ *kaḷañju* and 1 *mañjāḍi*, as an ornament to be worn by the god as long as the moon and the sun exist......".

The other Chōḷa inscription, found on the hill itself, carries a sculpture of a lion with an elephant's trunk and reads, "The mahā-maṇḍalēśvara, born in the Chōḷa-vaṁśa, distinguished by the Narasiṁha seal, Buruda-pampe Nala-Tirumalarasadēva Chōḷa-mahā-arasu's title (or crest)—Gajasiṁha (elephant-lion)." This record has been attributed palaeographically to about 1150 A. D.

The Kolar region once formed part of Gaṅgapāḍi and Noḷambapāḍi. These two areas, together with Taḍigaipāḍi, came under Chōḷa rule early in the reign of Rājarāja I. The conquest may have been completed by 991 A.D. Chōḷa rule ended by 1116 A.D. when the honorific of *Taḷakāḍu-koṇḍa* is first applied to Vishṇuvardhana, the real founder of Hoysaḷa greatness. An inscription of that year states that he was ruling over Taḷakāḍu and Kōlāla, "over the whole of Gaṅgavāḍi as far as Koṅgu".

The Chōḷa rule, thus, lasted a little over a century. It was in this period that the Yōganandīśvara temple was erected. It was in existence by the time Rājādhirāja's reign ended in 1054 A.D. The gift by the Chōḷa notable of a gold plate to the lord, noted above, was made five years earlier.

The original Chōḷa temple consisted of Yōganandīśvara shirne and the *navaraṅga* in front. This may be deduced from the fact that the four round granite pillars in the *navaraṅga* resemble in style those in the Nandi-maṇḍapas in the temple on the plains. These Nandi-maṇḍapas are indisputably Chōḷa in origin; they contain many Tamil inscriptions of the times.

To this original part of the temple additions were made, most probably in Vijayanagar times, in the form of the shrine of the goddess and the two intervening *maṇḍapas*. Some small sculptures were added under the Marāṭhas.

Of the two intermediate *maṇḍapas*, now fully enclosed, by far the more striking is the one which adjoins the Yōganandīśvara *navaraṅga*. It contains four pillars which resemble those in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Bhōganandīśvara temple, an addition of Vijayanagar days.

Three Vijayanagar incriptions have been recorded. The earliest, dated 1396, states that Dēvayya, son of Konnappa-rāya, built the temple of Vīrabhadra. This temple has not survived. The next, engraved on the southern gate of the Yōganandīśvara temple, records that the door was made by Bayiru, Simmoji Baichu's son. The record has been ascribed palaeographically to about 1500. In 1536 was engraved an inscription on a stone near the temple which says with touching piety, "Pādirikuppa Pratāpa Anantaya's son, Yammarasa, having served the feet of the Īśvara of Nandigiri, will now be serving in the presence of the Lord as long as the sun and the moon endure."

That the Yōganarasiṁha shrine's *navaraṅga* was enclosed in later times becomes clear from the seven small sculptures that have been rather carelessly embedded on the outer wall. These represent Vāmana, two Naṭarājas, Umāsahita, a standing Śiva, a seated Śiva, and another divinity.

The *śikhara* of the Lord's shrine is circular and that of the goddess square. It is pretty clear that outer *prākāra* walls were added in later times. There is something of the air of a small fortress about the temple today. A dilapidated *gōpura*, now closed, leads to the declivity on a part of which the temple stands. The *prākāras* themselves are made of rocks in part. A gateway at the back, built in Vijayanagar times, leads to another part of the hillock where there are shrines of Lord Gaṇēśa and Lord Āñjanēya.

There is no entrance *gōpura*. A square of battlements, such as those found on forts, stands on the upper part of the *mahādvāra* This adds to the fort-like impression of the temple today.

21. SOCIO-ECONOMIC ROLE OF TEMPLES IN MEDIAEVAL KARNATAKA

S. Gururajachar

Here is an attempt made to discuss the significant role played by the institution of temple in the socio-economic life of Mediaeval Karṇāṭaka (1000-1300 A. D.), mainly in the light of contemporary inscriptions.

Needless to say, a temple was originally built for the purpose of prayer and worship; to serve as a centre of religious life. Indeed, it has fulfilled that purpose through the ages. Significantly enough, this institution has gone a long way in the upliftment of the people, in the social and economic spheres, too.

The temple was an important centre of education and learning, religious as well as secular. In 1029 A. D., we learn, Suggaladēvī made certain grants to a temple at Dēvapura (Dēvūr, Bijapur District), for the maintenance, among other things, of the students, i. e. for their food (*aśana*), clothing (*āchchhādana*), and medicines (*pathy-aushadha*).[1]

Among the various servants of the Praṇavēśvara temple at Tāḷagunda,[2] who were to get their salaries or remunerations, figure 6 teachers as follows: one each for teaching (1) *Ṛigvèda*, (2) *Yajurvēda-padapāṭha*, (3) *Samavēda* (4) *Kalpa*, (5) *Śabda-śāstra* (Grammar) including *Rūpāvatāra* and *Nyāsa* and (6) *Prabhākara* and *Vēdānta*. There were two others to teach Kannaḍa and to impart primary education (*bāla-śiksheya-śāstradavaru*). Such instances can be multiplied easily, but the above would suffice to illustrate the point.

Closely connected with the temple was the institution of *Dēvadāsis* or the temple dancing-girls. Such association of dancing-girls with temples was not peculiar to India, but was fairly common in different parts of the ancient world, e. g. Egypt, Greece, Syria, Arabia, etc.[3] All the champions of social purity doubtless opposed it vehemently but it became general and popular due to the royal support it enjoyed.[4]

The courtesans of Karṇāṭaka, there is reason to believe, doubtless enjoyed much wider latitude in society than other women.[5] Contemporary records show that some persons never hesitated to call themselves *vēśyā-bhujanga*,[6] *viṭa-chakravarti* (*bhujanga-viṭa*-paramour); indeed, a sense of pride can be seen in such expressions! Further more, such *vēśyās* enjoyed grants of land, money, house, etc.; They were often exempted from certain taxes, such as *manevaṇa* (house-tax), *kannaḍi-vaṇa* (mirror-tax) and the like.[8]

Mahādēva-chamūpati, a trusted general of Vikramāditya VI, caused the temple of Mahādēva to be built at Iṭṭige (Dharwar District) in 1112 A. D., in memory of his late mother with quarters for the most beautiful courtesans (*sūḷe*) of the temple attached to it.[9] "In his eyes, and in those of his contemporaries", reamarks Prof. A. L. Basham,[10] "there was no incongruity in such a memorial."

Anantamayya,[11] again, another trusted general of the same emperor, made certain grants, in 1112 A. D., for the maintenance

of the quarters of dancing-girls (*sūḷegēri*, built by himself, and attached to the temple of Sōmēśvaradēva at Purigeṛe (Lakshmēśvara, Dharwar District) a fact clearly indicating that such courtesans often lived in the quarters built in the very vicinity of temples.

References[12] are found to an officer in charge of such temple-courtesans, called *sūḷevaḷa*; as also to his office *sūḷevaḷike*.[13]

Now a word about the economic role of temples. The temple was a big land-lord, owning vast properties in land, acquired by way of donations[14]—royal as well as private—or purchase.[15] The temple lands were either farmed by the temple authorities, or let on lease with certain conditions specified.[16]

Such tenants cultivating the temple lands often enjoyed humane treatment and certain privileges: they were exempted from paying contributions, forced-labour, house-tax, etc.[17] In times of need, the temple lent out money to the cultivators to help them meet their urgent seasonal demands.[18] It also promoted the cause of agriculture by constructing tanks and sluices.[19]

The temple was also a big employer, providing means of livelihood for a fairly large number of persons. Indeed, the Akkēśvara temple at Sūḍi (Dharwar District) is said to have had on its establishment, in 1058 A. D., 1000 persons, to whom certain grants were made.[20] The temple servants generally consisted of priests, drummers, dancing-masters, dancing-girls, accountants and so on,[21] who were paid in money or lands.

The temple was a big consumer and purchased numerous articles for purposes of carrying on daily worship as well as feasts and festivals. Contemporary epigraphs[22] often furnish a long list of articles needed by the temple such as sandal, rose-water, camphor, oil, and so on—thus encouraging the country's trade and commerce, both internal and external to prosper.

It also encouraged many of the industries or handicrafts. Interestingly enough, artisans like potters, oil-pressers, stone-cutters, etc., figure in the list of temple servants.[23] Some temples also had their own oil-mills.[24]

It thus becomes clear that the temple played a vital role in the socio-economic life of the people, in ways more than one.

1 *SII.*, XX, No. 23.
2 *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 185 (1158 A. D.).
3 *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, XII, p. 533;
4 A.S. Altekar, *Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, p. 184.
5 S. Gururajachar, *Some Aspects of Economic and Social Life in Karṇāṭaka*, pp. 243-44.
6 *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Mg. 22 (1129 A. D.).
7 *SII.*, IX, i, No. 118 (1057 A.D.).
8 *Ibid.*, No. 80 (1018 A. D.); *Ibid.*, XX, No. 35 (1055 A.D.); *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 295 (1074 A. D.), etc.

9 *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 41.

10 *The Wonder that was India*, p. 185.

11 *SII.*, XX, No. 74.

12 *SII.*, IX. i, Nos. 80 (1018 A. D.); 101 (1045 A. D.); *Hyd. Arch. Series*, 18, No. 13 (1178 A. D.), etc.

13 B. K. 67 of 1933-34 [Western Chāḷukya Sōmēśvara II's reign]. For a discussion on this point, see S. Gururajachar, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-47.

14 See *APGAS.*, 9, No. 23 (1134 A. D.) : lands were granted to a temple on the condition that they should not be mortgaged (*otteyiḍaluṁ*), sold (*māraluṁ*), or gifted away (*dānageyyalu salladu*), etc.

15 *MAR.*, 1912, p. para. 77.

16 *Ibid.*, (1909), p. 22, para. 84; *SII.*, XV, No. 99; *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng. 39, etc.

17 *Ep. Carn.*, V, Bl. 83 (1178 A. D.).

18 *Ibid.*

19 B. K. I., I. ii, No. 183 (1100 A. D.).

20 *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 85.

21 *Ep. Carn.*, X, Bp. 38 a (c. 1280 A. D.).

22 *Ibid.*, V, Bl. 155; Ak. 71; VI, Kd. 49, etc.

23 *Ibid.*, XII, Ck. 2; *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 93, etc.

24 *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 121, etc.

BOOK REVIEWS

KARNATAKA SASANA, KALE (in Kannada) by Shri H. R. Raghunatha Bhat. Published by Bhāratī Prakāśana, Mysore, 1977; pp. xx+216 and plates and line-drawings.

This maiden book by Shri Raghunatha Bhat contains 25 of his articles included earlier in various publications. Of these the first 11 pertain to Epigraphy and the remaining 14 to a variety of topics relating to Art and Architecture.

In the Epigraphy section, this young and versatile scholar has discussed certain aspects of some important Karnataka inscriptions such as the Prakrit inscriptions of Banavāsi and the Guḍnāpur inscription of Kadamba Ravivarman besides editing competently the Nellūr, Harīshi and Hirēkalagōḍ inscriptions. Of these, the Harīshi inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭas is an important discovery in that it reveals for the first time the existence of Kannaradēva IV, a hitherto unknown name in Rāshṭrakūṭa genealogy. So also Shri Bhat's identification of place-names occurring in the Guḍnāpur inscription could be rated as a good contribution to the study of historical toponymy. The second part pertaining to art and architecture takes into account interesting discoveries made in recent times. The over-all value of the book is enhanced by the inclusion of a number of good illustrations and line-drawings. The book is aptly dedicated to the late Dr. M. Seshadri under whom Shri Bhat began his journey as an indologist. The printing and the get-up are good. I am sure that those interested in knowing more about Karnataka's past can expect such scholarly contributions to flow from the pen of Shri Raghunatha Bhat in quick succession.

M. J. Sharma

ANNUAL REPORT ON EPIGRAPHY, 1967. Editor: Sri P. V. Parabrahma Sastry. General Editor: Dr. N. Ramesan. Pub.: Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1975. Price Rs. 24/-; pp. xiii and 139.

This book which is in two parts contains reports on two copper-plate inscriptions and 430 stone inscriptions collected during the year 1967. In Part I is given a Dynastic Introduction to the epigraphs included in the Report. Details regarding the findspot, dynasty and king to whom the records belong and the remarks on the epigraphs are provided in Part II. The inscriptions included herein were collected from twelve districts in Andhra Pradesh and belong to different dynasties such as the Bādāmi Chalukyas, the Rēnāṭi Chōḷas, the Bāṇas, the Vaidumbas, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Kākatīyas, the Reḍḍis and those of Vijayanagara. However, some of the inscriptions noticed in this Report are already known to the scholars through other sources. Among the important inscriptions included, the Pedacheppali plates of the Rēnāṭi Chōḷa chief Śrikaṇṭha-Śrī-Manōhara deserve special mention.

The Dynastic Introduction, prepared on the basis of the inscriptions in this report, highlights the salient features of the important inscriptions and their contribution in reconstructing Indian history. Though the scope and use of the books of this type are limited, they help in drawing the attention of the interested scholars to the new discoveries and their importance. To this extent this book certainly serves its purpose. This systematically prepared book is brought out neatly.

S. S. Ramachandra Murthy

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN ANCIENT INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS: by Dr Parmanand Gupta. Published by Concept Publishing Company, Delhi, 1977; pp. 1-176 and 16 plates: Rs. 60.

It was in 1973 that Dr Parmanand Gupta's 'Geography in Ancient Indian Inscriptions [upto 650 A.D.]' was published, adding a new dimension to the academic exploitation of the copious epigraphical source material that is available in our vast country. Dr Gupta had highlighted in that scholarly work all information pertaining to peoples, countries, political divisions, cities, villages, mountains and rivers furnished by ancient Indian inscriptions up to 650 A.D. That that work of Dr Gupta received wide approbation in the scholarly world was but in the fitness of things.

The volume under review is based on similar information culled out of inscriptions published subsequent to the date of the preparation of Volume I in 1973 and covering epigraphical and indological publications which saw the light of day during the next three years. While pointing out that the author has, inadvertantly no doubt, overlooked latest observations on some entries such as *Ālukas*, *Āhupas*, *Prēhara*, etc., such lapses being indeed very few, he must be congratulated for his near-thorough exploitation of the relevant published materials.

The method of presentation in the present volume basically differs from the first volume though the nature of the entries selected is as varied and topical. Whereas in the earlier book Dr Gupta has presented his findings under different heads, in the volume under review the entries are found given in alphabetical order. This deviation is to be appreciated for it has rendered easy the work of referring any of the entries in the new book to the earlier volume for comparison and contrast.

Equipped as he is with sound knowledge of Sanskrit and critical bent of mind, the world of scholars could legitimately hope to see further such works issuing from Dr Gupta's pen. The field in which he has chosen to specialise is a vast and varied one and the present reviewer hopes that Dr. Gupta will, in the years to come, devote his attention to such specialised topics as technical terms indicative of kingdoms, districts, divisions, subdivisions, numerical suffixes of divisional names and of local bodies, gift-villages, etc. The above topics have much potential because many problems pertaining to them have defied easy solution.

The printing and get-up of this volume leave nothing to be desired and, considering the quality of production and the obtaining cost of the raw materials, the price is not exhorbitant.

K. V. Ramesh

INSCRIPTIONS OF ANDHRA PRADESH: KARIMNAGAR DISTRICT: Ed. Sri P. V. Parabrahma Sastry. General Editor: Dr N. Ramesan. Published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad; pp. xxi and 155 and plates.

The work under review is second in the series of volumes containing inscriptions arranged district-wise and published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh, the first one being the volume containing inscriptions discovered in the Warangal district of Andhra Pradesh which was reviewed in the pages of the Third volume of this Journal. In the present volume are included 78 inscriptions in all couched in different languages viz. Telugu, Kannaḍa and Sanskrit and belonging

to different dynasties such as the Chāḷukyas of Vēmulavāḍa, the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Kākatīyas and those of Vijayanagara. Attention of the scholars may be drawn to some of the important and interesting inscriptions included in this volume such as the Karimnagar inscription (No. 1) of Arikēsari II, dated Śaka 869, five introductory verses of which are seen in the famous Kannaḍa work *Vikramārjunavijaya* of Pampa. Instances of quoting verses in inscriptions from the literary works are rare though not wanting. The Śanigaram epigraph (No. 14) is of great value to the history of South India in general and to the history of the Kākatīyas in particular since it is the only available record as yet belonging to the Kākatīya king Bēta I. The book contains a historical introduction narrated in the light of the inscriptions edited in this volume while each inscription itself is preceded by a brief introduction. Some of the important inscriptions are illustrated with good facsimiles and this has enhanced the value of the work. While congratulating the Government of Andhra Pradesh for bringing out the volume in its present shape the reviewer fondly hopes that the subsequent volumes in this series will be brought out by the Government of Andhra Pradesh in quick succession giving due consideration to his suggestions made while reviewing the first one of the District-wise volumes in the previous issue of this Journal.

S. S. Ramachandra Murthy

THE CHOLAS (Mathematics reconstructs the Chronology) by and published by Shri N. Sethuraman, Kumbakonam (Tamilnadu), 1977; pp. 193. Price not given.

Civil servants and other interested private individuals straying into the field of epigraphical researches and making noteworthy and far reaching contributions have been abiding historiographic traditions in our country. Viewed in that background it is but natural that the exertions of Shri N. Sethuraman, an engineer turned businessman, have not caused eye-brows to be raised in disbelief. It must be accepted on all hands that by his largely uninhibited approach to the problems of decipherment and dating of inscriptions Shri Sethuraman has not only set up good precedents but has already made quite a few lasting contributions, particularly in regard to Chōḷa history. It may even be declared that he has stolen a march over acknowledged professionals who are, more often than not, dogged by conservatism.

Shri Sethuraman's latest work *The Cholas* rings true to his reputation as a scientific researcher. While on an earlier occasion he had judiciously resorted to the measuring rod in order to restore, more convincingly than ever before, groups of damaged letters in Tamil inscriptions (see his Tamil work *Aruḷuḍaich-Chōḷa-maṇḍalam*), he has, in the work under review, taken recourse to pure mathematics in order to improve upon earlier theories on details of dates in Chōḷa history. Proceeding on the incontrovertible assumption that all calculations of the dates of inscriptions must be done on the basis of the Indian calendar system (p. 25) the author has either unequivocally fixed the dates of accession of some Chōḷa rulers such as, for instance, Rājēndra I (p. 2), Rājādhirāja I (pp. 4-6), Adhirājēndra (pp. 11-12), Kulōttuṅgachōḷa I (p. 13) and Vikramachōḷa (pp. 13-14) or has further narrowed down or noticeably revised the upper and lower limits of the periods in

which, on some unknown day, any given Chōḷa ruler should have ascended the throne as, for instance, in the cases of Rājarāja I (p. 3), Kulōttuṅga II (p. 14), Rājarāja II (p. 15), Rājādhirāja II (pp. 15-21), Kulōttuṅga III (pp. 25-27) and Rājēndra III (p. 29). In thus re-examining the inscriptional data and proffering new dates after rejecting the old ones, Shri Sethuraman is well aware of, but does not gloat over, the fact that he is setting aside the theories of such eminent stalwarts as Kielhorn, Fleet and Swamikannu Pillai. The author has also brought the same scientific approach and critical acumen to bear upon his study of *Śaṅkarachōḻan ulā* and Oṭṭakkūttar's *Takkayāgattupparaṇi*.

It is only in matters of styles and attitudes to be adopted while rewriting South Indian history that we would like to join issue with Shri Sethuraman. For one thing, he quite often displays a flair for journalistic sensationalism in presenting his arguments and conclusions (see, for instance, p. 48, last paragraph) which adds, though only in negligible measure, an element of flippancy to his otherwise weighty writings.

For another thing, Shri Sethuraman betrays an undercurrent of unfriendliness as regards the northern neighbours or, shall we say, adversaries of the Chōḷas. As an instance of this inexplicable attitude, we may refer readers of this review to the last paragraph on p. 73 and also to p. 97 of *The Cholas*. We feel that it is too late in the day for Shri Sethuraman to take up the arms left behind by the great Chōḷas and fight for them their unfinished battles against their Karnataka adversaries !

In conclusion, the reviewers would like to register here the fact that Shri Sethuraman has already made substantial contributions which will go a long way in rendering narration of Chōḷa history more truthful. The cause of rewriting South Indian history will indeed be well served if only Shri Sethuraman should decide to extend the sphere of his exertions to the other regions of Tamilnadu as well as South India. But, in order that the cause of history may not suffer, Shri Sethuraman should remember to overcome all feelings of regional and dynastic affiliations, shorn of which his writings are of a high calibre and, in intrinsic value, eminently acceptable. We are certain that the good work Shri Sethuraman has already done in ample measure in the field of historical research is but the forerunner of much excellent works to follow.

K. V. Ramesh
C. R. Srinivasan

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**Paper presented at the Indore Congress, October, 1975.

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